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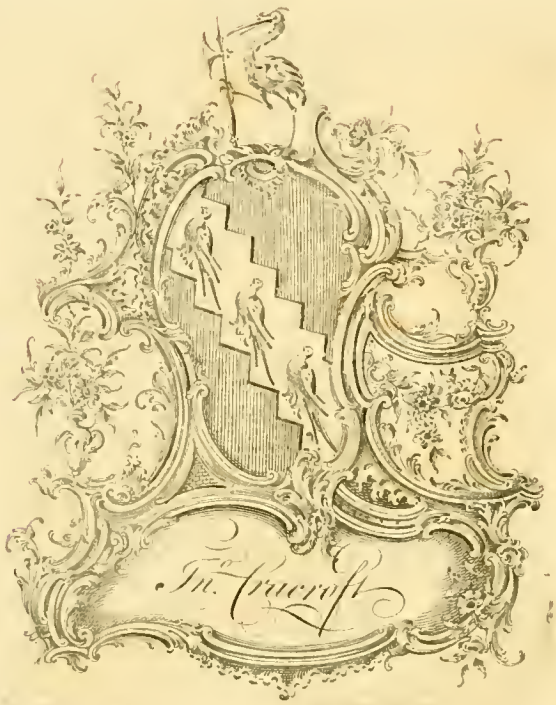

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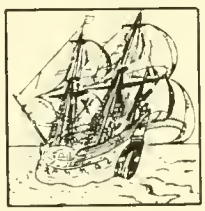

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VOYAGE

TO THE

PACIFIC OCEAN.

UNDERTAKEN,

BY THE COMMAND OF HIS MAJESTY,

FOR MAKING

Discoveries in the Northern Hemisphere.

TO DETERMINE

The Position and Extent of the West Side of North America; its Distance from Asia; and the Practicability of a Northern Passage to Europe.

PERFORMED UNDER THE DIRECTION OF

Captains COOK, CLERKE, and GORE,

In his Majesty's Ships the RESOLUTION and DISCOVERY.

In the Years 1776, 1777, 1778, 1779, and 1780.

IN THREE VOLUMES.

VOL. I. and II. written by Captain JAMES COOK, F.R.S.

VOL. III. by Captain JAMES KING, LL.D. and F.R.S.

Illustrated with Maps and Charts, from the Original Drawings made by Lieut. Henry Roberts, under the Direction of Captain Cook; and with a great Variety of Portraits of Persons, Views of Places, and Historical Representations of Remarkable Incidents, drawn by Mr. Webber during the Voyage, and engraved by the most eminent Artists.

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AND T. CADELL, IN THE STRAND.

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ERRATUM.

Page 206, line 24, *for* latitude 19° 15′ South, *read* latitude 19° 51′ South.

INTRODUCTION.

THE ſpirit of diſcovery, which had long animated the European nations, having, after its arduous and ſucceſsful exertions, during the fifteenth and ſixteenth centuries, gradually ſubſided, and for a conſiderable time lain dormant, began to revive in Great Britain in the late reign *; and recovered all its former activity, under the cheriſhing influence, and munificent encouragement, of his preſent Majeſty.

Soon after his acceſſion to the throne, having happily cloſed the deſtructive operations of war, he turned his thoughts to enterprizes more humane, but not leſs brilliant, adapted to the ſeaſon of returning peace. While every liberal art, and uſeful ſtudy, flouriſhed under his patronage at home, his ſuperintending care was extended to ſuch branches of knowledge, as required diſtant examination and inquiry; and his ſhips, after bringing back victory and conqueſt from every quarter of the known world, were

* Two voyages for diſcovering a North Weſt paſſage, through Hudſon's Bay, were then performed; one under the command of Captain Middleton, in his Majeſty's ſhips the Furnace, and the Diſcovery Pink, in 1741, and 1742. The other under the direction of Captains Smith and Moore, in the ſhips Dobbs and California, fitted out by ſubſcription, in 1746, and 1747.

now employed in opening friendly communications with its hitherto unexplored receſſes.

In the proſecution of an object ſo worthy of the Monarch of a great commercial people, one voyage followed another in cloſe ſucceſſion; and, we may add, in regular gradation. What Byron * had begun, Wallis † and Carteret ‡ ſoon improved. Their ſucceſs gave birth to a far more extenſive plan of diſcovery, carried into execution, in two ſubſequent voyages, conducted by Cook §. And that nothing might be left unattempted, though much had been already done, the ſame Commander, whoſe profeſſional ſkill could only be equalled by the perſevering diligence with which he had exerted it, in the courſe of his former reſearches, was called upon, once more, to reſume, or rather to complete, the ſurvey of the globe. Accordingly, another voyage was undertaken in 1776; which, though laſt in the order of time, was far from being the leaſt conſiderable, with reſpect to the extent and importance of its objects; yet, ſtill, far leſs fortunate than any of the former, as thoſe objects

* Captain, now Admiral, Byron, had, under his command, the Dolphin and Tamer. He ſailed in June 1764, and returned in May 1766.

† Captain Wallis had, under his command, the Dolphin and Swallow. He ſailed in Auguſt 1766, and returned, with the Dolphin, in May 1768.

‡ The Swallow, commanded by Captain Carteret, having been ſeparated from Wallis, and, by keeping a different route, having made different diſcoveries, this may be conſidered as a diſtinct voyage. The Swallow returned to England in March 1769.

§ Captain Cook, in the Endeavour, ſailed in Auguſt 1768, and returned in July 1771.

In his ſecond voyage, he had the Reſolution and Adventure under his command. They ſailed from England in July 1772, and returned on the 30th of July 1775.

were

were not accompliſhed, but at the expence of the valuable life of its Conductor.

When plans, calculated to be of general utility, are carried into execution with partial views, and upon intereſted motives, it is natural to attempt to confine, within ſome narrow circle, the advantages which might have been derived to the world at large, by an unreſerved diſcloſure of all that had been effected. And, upon this principle, it has too frequently been conſidered as ſound policy, perhaps, in this country, as well as amongſt ſome of our neighbours, to affect to draw a veil of ſecrecy over the reſult of enterprizes to diſcover and explore unknown quarters of the globe. It is to the honour of the preſent reign, that more liberal views have been now adopted. Our late voyages, from the very extenſive objects propoſed by them, could not but convey uſeful information to every European nation; and, indeed, to every nation, however remote, which cultivates commerce, and is acquainted with navigation: and that information has moſt laudably been afforded. The ſame enlarged and benevolent ſpirit, which ordered theſe ſeveral expeditions to be undertaken, has alſo taken care that the reſult of their various diſcoveries ſhould be authentically recorded. And the tranſactions of the five firſt voyages round the world having, in due time, been communicated *, under the authority of his Majeſty's naval Miniſter; thoſe of the ſixth, which, beſides reviſiting many of the former diſcoveries in the Southern, carried its opera-

* The account of the four firſt of theſe voyages, compiled by Dr. Hawkeſworth, from the Journals of the ſeveral Commanders, was publiſhed in 1772, in Three Volumes quarto; and Captain Cook's own account of the fifth, in 1777, in Two Volumes quarto.

tions into untrodden paths in the Northern hemiſphere, are, under the ſame ſanction, now ſubmitted to the Public in theſe Volumes.

One great plan of nautical inveſtigation having been purſued throughout, it is obvious, that the ſeveral voyages have a cloſe connection, and that an exact recollection of what had been aimed at, and effected, in thoſe that preceded, will throw conſiderable light on our period. With a view, therefore, to aſſiſt the Reader in forming a juſt eſtimate of the additional information conveyed by this Publication, it may not be improper to lay before him a ſhort, though comprehenſive, abſtract of the principal objects that had been previouſly accompliſhed, arranged in ſuch a manner, as may ſerve to unite, into one point of view, the various articles which lie ſcattered through the voluminous Journals already in the hands of the Public; thoſe compiled by Dr. Hawkeſworth; and that which was written by Captain Cook himſelf. By thus ſhewing what had been formerly done, how much ſtill remained for ſubſequent examination, will be more apparent; and it will be better underſtood on what grounds, though the ſhips of his Majeſty had already circumnavigated the world five different times, in the courſe of about ten years, another voyage ſhould ſtill be thought expedient.

There will be a farther uſe in giving ſuch an abſtract a place in this Introduction. The plan of diſcovery, carried on in ſo many ſucceſſive expeditions, being now, we may take upon us to ſay, in a great meaſure completed; by ſumming up the final reſult, we ſhall be better able to do juſtice to the benevolent purpoſes it was deſigned to anſwer; and a ſolid foundation will be laid, on which we may build

a ſa-

a ſatisfactory anſwer to a queſtion, ſometimes aſked by peeviſh refinement, and ignorant malevolence, What beneficial conſequences, if any, have followed, or are likely to follow, to the diſcoverers, or to the diſcovered, to the common intereſts of humanity, or to the increaſe of uſeful knowledge, from all our boaſted attempts to explore the diſtant receſſes of the globe?

The general object of the ſeveral voyages round the world, undertaken by the command of his Majeſty, prior to that related in this work, was to ſearch for unknown tracts of land that might exiſt within the boſom of the immenſe expanſe of ocean that occupies the whole Southern hemiſphere.

Within that ſpace, ſo few reſearches had been made, before our time, and thoſe few reſearches had been made ſo imperfectly, that the reſult of them, as communicated to the world in any narration, had rather ſerved to create uncertainty, than to convey information; to deceive the credulous, rather than to ſatisfy the judicious inquirer; by blending the true geography of above half the ſuperficies of the earth, with an endleſs variety of plauſible conjectures, ſuggeſted by ingenious ſpeculation; of idle tales, handed down by obſcure tradition; or of bold fictions, invented by deliberate falſehood.

It would have been very unfortunate, indeed, if five different circumnavigators of the globe, ſome of them, at leaſt, if not all, in tracks little known, and leſs frequented, had produced no diſcoveries, to reward the difficulties and perils unavoidably encountered. But the following review will furniſh the moſt ſatisfactory proofs, that his Majeſty's inſtructions have been executed with ability; and that the

repeated

repeated viſits of his ſhips to the Southern hemiſphere, have very conſiderably added to our ſtock of geographical knowledge.

I.

The South Atlantic Ocean was the firſt ſcene of our operations. Falkland's Iſlands had been hitherto barely known to exiſt; but their true poſition and extent, and every circumſtance which could render their exiſtence of any conſequence, remained abſolutely undecided, till Byron viſited them in 1764. And Captain Macbride, who followed him thither two years after, having circumnavigated their coaſts, and taken a complete ſurvey, a chart of Falkland's Iſlands has been conſtructed, with ſo much accuracy, that the coaſts of Great Britain, itſelf, are not more authentically laid down upon our maps.

How little was really known of the iſlands in the South Atlantic, even ſo late as the time of Lord Anſon, we have the moſt remarkable proofs, in the Hiſtory of his voyage. Unavoidably led into miſtake, by the imperfect materials then in the poſſeſſion of the world, he had conſidered Pepys's Iſland, and Falkland Iſles, as diſtinct places, diſtant from each other about five degrees of latitude *. Byron's reſearches have rectified this capital error; and it is now decided, beyond all contradiction, that *future navigators will miſpend their time, if they look for Pepys's Iſland in latitude* 47°; *it being now certain, that Pepys's Iſland is no other than theſe iſlands of Falkland* †.

* See Lord Anſon's Voyage, quarto edition, p. 91.

† Theſe are Captain Cook's words, *Preface to his Voyage*, p. 14.; and the evidence, on which he forms this judgment, may be met with in Hawkeſworth's Journal of Byron's Voyage, Vol. i. p. 23, 24.—51, 52, 53, 54.

Beſides the determination of this conſiderable point, other lands, ſituated in the South Atlantic, have been brought forward into view. If the iſle of Georgia had been formerly ſeen by La Roche, in 1675, and by Mr. Guyot, in the ſhip Lion, in 1756, which ſeems to be probable, Captain Cook, in 1775, has made us fully acquainted with its extent and true poſition; and, in the ſame year, he added to the map of the world Sandwich Land, hitherto not known to exiſt, and the moſt Southern diſcovery that has been ever accompliſhed *.

II.

Though the Strait of Magalhaens had been frequently viſited, and ſailed through, by ſhips of different nations, before our time, a careful examination of its bays, and harbours, and head-lands; of the numerous iſlands it contains, and of the coaſts, on both ſides, that incloſe it; and an exact account of the tides, and currents, and ſoundings, throughout its whole extent, was a taſk, which, if Sir John Narborough, and others, had not totally omitted, they cannot be ſaid to have recorded ſo fully, as to preclude the utility of future inveſtigation. This taſk has been ably and effectually performed by Byron, Wallis, and Carteret; whoſe tranſactions in this Strait, and the chart of it, founded on their obſervations and diſcoveries, are a moſt valuable acceſſion to geography.

III.

If the correct information, thus obtained, about every part of this celebrated Strait, ſhould deter future adventurers from involving themſelves in the difficulties and

* See the Chart of Diſcoveries in the South Atlantic. Cook's Voyage, Vol. ii. p. 210.

embarraſſments

embarraſſments of a labyrinth, now known to be ſo intricate, and the unavoidable ſource of danger and delay, we have the ſatisfaction to have diſcovered, that a ſafer and more expeditious entrance into the Pacific Ocean, may be reaſonably depended upon. The paſſage round Cape Horn, has been repeatedly tried, both from the Eaſt and from the Weſt, and ſtript of its terrors. We ſhall, for the future, be leſs diſcouraged by the labours and diſtreſſes experienced by the ſquadrons of Lord Anſon and Pizarro, when we recollect, that they were obliged to attempt the navigation of thoſe ſeas at an unfavourable ſeaſon of the year; and that there was nothing very formidable met with there, when they were traverſed by Captain Cook.

To this diſtinguiſhed navigator was reſerved the honour of being the firſt, who, from a ſeries of the moſt ſatisfactory obſervations, beginning at the Weſt entrance of the Strait of Magalhaens, and carried on, with unwearied diligence, round Tierra del Fuego, through the Strait of Le Maire, has conſtructed a chart of the Southern extremity of America, from which it will appear, how much former navigators muſt have been at a loſs to guide themſelves, and what advantages will now be enjoyed by thoſe who ſhall hereafter ſail round Cape Horn.

IV.

As the voyages of diſcovery, undertaken by his Majeſty's command, have facilitated the acceſs of ſhips into the Pacific Ocean, they have alſo greatly enlarged our knowledge of its contents.

Though the immenſe expanſe uſually diſtinguiſhed by this appellation, had been navigated by Europeans for

near two centuries and a half*, by far the greater part of it, particularly to the South of the equator, had remained, during all this time, unexplored.

The great aim of Magalhaens, and of the Spaniards in general, its firſt navigators, being merely to arrive, by this paſſage, at the Moluccas, and the other Aſiatic Spice Iſlands, every intermediate part of the ocean that did not lie contiguous to their Weſtern track, which was on the North ſide of the equator, of courſe eſcaped due examination; and if Mendana and Quiros, and ſome nameleſs conductors of voyages before them †, by deviating from this track, and holding a Weſterly one from Callao, within the Southern tropic, were ſo fortunate as to meet with various iſlands there, and ſo ſanguine as to conſider thoſe iſlands as marks of the exiſtence of a neighbouring Southern continent; in the exploring of which they flattered themſelves they ſhould rival the fame of De Gama and Columbus; theſe feeble efforts never led to any effectual diſcloſure of the ſuppoſed hidden mine of the New World. On the contrary, their voyages being conducted without a judicious plan, and their diſcoveries being left imperfect without immediate ſettlement, or ſubſequent examination, and ſcarcely recorded in any well-authenticated or accurate narrations, had been almoſt forgot; or were ſo obſcurely remembered, as only to ſerve the purpoſe of producing perplexing debates about their ſituation and extent; if not to ſuggeſt doubts about their very exiſtence.

* Magalhaens's Voyage was undertaken in 1519.

† See the particulars of their diſcoveries in Mr. Dalrymple's valuable Collection of Voyages in the South Pacific Ocean.

It ſeems, indeed, to have become a very early object of policy in the Spaniſh councils, to diſcontinue and to diſcourage any farther reſearches in that quarter. Already maſters of a larger empire on the continent of America than they could conveniently govern, and of richer mines of the precious metals on that continent than they could convert into uſe, neither avarice nor ambition furniſhed reaſons for aiming at a freſh acceſſion of dominions. And thus, though ſettled all along the ſhores of this Ocean, in a ſituation ſo commodious for proſecuting diſcoveries throughout its wide extent, the Spaniards remained ſatisfied with a coaſting intercourſe between their own ports; never ſtretching acroſs the vaſt gulph that ſeparates that part of America from Aſia, but in an unvarying line of navigation; perhaps in a ſingle annual ſhip, between Acapulco and Manilla.

The tracks of other European navigators of the South Pacific Ocean, were, in a great meaſure, regulated by thoſe of the Spaniards; and conſequently limited within the ſame narrow bounds. With the exception, perhaps, of two inſtances only, thoſe of Le Maire and Roggewein, no ſhips of another nation had entered this ſea, through the Strait of Magalhaens, or round Cape Horn, but for the purpoſes of clandeſtine trade with the Spaniards, or of open hoſtility againſt them: purpoſes which could not be anſwered, without precluding any probable chance of adding much to our ſtock of diſcovery. For it was obviouſly incumbent on all ſuch adventurers, to confine their cruiſes within a moderate diſtance of the Spaniſh ſettlements; in the vicinity of which alone they could hope to exerciſe their commerce, or to execute their predatory and military operations. Accordingly, ſoon after emerging from the Strait, or completing

pleting the circuit of Tierra del Fuego, they began to hold a Northerly courſe, to the uninhabited iſland of Juan Fernandez, their uſual ſpot of rendezvous and refreſhment. And, after ranging along the continent of America, from Chili to California, they either reverſed their courſe back to the Atlantic; or, if they ventured to extend their voyage, by ſtretching over to Aſia, they never thought of trying experiments in the unfrequented and unexplored parts of the Ocean; but choſe the beaten path (if the expreſſion may be uſed), within the limits of which it was likely that they might meet with a Philippine galleon, to make their voyage profitable to themſelves; but could have little proſpect, if they had been deſirous, of making it uſeful to the world, by gaining any acceſſion of new land to the Map of the World.

By the natural operation of theſe cauſes, it could not but happen, that little progreſs ſhould be made toward obtaining a full and accurate knowledge of the South Pacific Ocean. Something, however, had been attempted by the induſtrious, and once enterpriſing Dutch; to whom we are indebted for three voyages, undertaken for the purpoſes of diſcovery; and whoſe reſearches, in the Southern latitudes of this Ocean, are much better aſcertained than are thoſe of the earlier Spaniſh navigators above mentioned.

Le Maire and Schouten, in 1616, and Roggewein, in 1722, wiſely judging, that nothing new could be gained by adhering to the uſual paſſage on the North ſide of the line, traverſed this Ocean from Cape Horn to the Eaſt Indies, croſſing the South tropic; a ſpace which had been ſo ſeldom, and ſo ineffectually viſited; though popular belief, fortified by philoſophical ſpeculation, expected there to reap the richeſt harveſt of diſcovery.

Taſman, in 1642, in his extenſive circuit from Batavia, through the South Indian Ocean, entered the South Pacific, at its greateſt diſtance from the American ſide, where it never had been examined before. And his range continued from a high Southern latitude, Northward to New Guinea, and the iſlands to the Eaſt of it near the equator, produced intermediate diſcoveries, that have rendered his voyage memorable in the annals of navigation.

But ſtill, upon the whole, what was effected in theſe three expeditions, ſerved only to ſhew how large a field was reſerved for future and more perſevering examination. Their reſults had, indeed, enabled geographers to diverſify the vacant uniformity of former charts of this Ocean, by the inſertion of ſome new iſlands. But the number, and the extent of theſe inſertions were ſo inconſiderable, that they may be ſaid to appear

Rari, nantes in gurgite vaſto.

And, if the diſcoveries were few, thoſe few were made very imperfectly. Some coaſts were approached, but not landed upon; and paſſed without waiting to examine their extent, and connection with thoſe that might exiſt at no great diſtance. If others were landed upon, the viſits were, in general, ſo tranſient, that it was ſcarcely poſſible to build upon a foundation, ſo weakly laid, any information that could even gratify idle curioſity; much leſs ſatisfy philoſophical inquiry, or contribute greatly to the ſafety, or to the ſucceſs of future navigation.

Let us, however, do juſtice to theſe beginnings of diſcovery. To the Dutch we muſt, at leaſt, aſcribe the merit of being our harbingers, though we afterward went beyond

them in the road they had firſt ventured to tread. And with what ſucceſs his Majeſty's ſhips have, in their repeated voyages, penetrated into the obſcureſt receſſes of the South Pacific Ocean, will appear from the following enumeration of their various and very extenſive operations, which have drawn up the veil that had hitherto been thrown over the geography of ſo great a proportion of the globe.

1. The ſeveral lands, of which any account had been given, as ſeen by any of the preceding navigators, Spaniſh or Dutch, have been carefully looked for; and moſt of them (at leaſt ſuch as ſeemed to be of any conſequence) found out and viſited; and not viſited in a curſory manner, but every means uſed to correct former miſtakes, and to ſupply former deficiencies, by making accurate inquiries aſhore, and taking ſkilful ſurveys of their coaſts, by ſailing round them. Who has not heard, or read, of the boaſted *Tierra Auſtralia del Eſpiritu Santo* of Quiros? But its bold pretenſions to be a part of a Southern continent, could not ſtand Captain Cook's examination, who ſailed round it, and aſſigned it its true poſition and moderate bounds, in the Archipelago of the New Hebrides *.

2. Beſides perfecting many of the diſcoveries of their predeceſſors, our late navigators have enriched geographical knowledge with a long catalogue of their own. The Pacific Ocean, within the South tropic, repeatedly traverſed, in every direction, was found to ſwarm with a ſeemingly endleſs profuſion of habitable ſpots of land. Iſlands ſcattered through the amazing ſpace

* Bougainville, in 1768, did no more than diſcover that the land here was not connected, but compoſed of iſlands. Captain Cook, in 1774, explored the whole group. See Cook's Voyage, Vol. ii. p. 96.

of

of near fourſcore degrees of longitude, ſeparated at various diſtances, or grouped in numerous cluſters, have, at their approach, as it were, ſtarted into exiſtence; and ſuch ample accounts have been brought home concerning them and their inhabitants, as may ſerve every uſeful purpoſe of inquiry; and, to uſe Captain Cook's words, who bore ſo conſiderable a ſhare in thoſe diſcoveries, *have left little more to be done in that part* *.

3. Byron, Wallis, and Carteret, had each of them contributed toward increaſing our knowledge of the iſlands that exiſt in the Pacific Ocean, within the limits of the Southern tropic; but how far that ocean reached to the Weſt, what lands bounded it on that ſide, and the connection of thoſe lands with the diſcoveries of former navigators, was ſtill the reproach of geographers, and remained abſolutely unknown, till Captain Cook, during his firſt voyage in 1770†, brought back the moſt ſatisfactory deciſion of this important queſtion. With a wonderful perſeverance, and conſummate ſkill, amidſt an uncommon combination of perplexities and dangers, he traced this coaſt near two thouſand miles from the 38° of South latitude, croſs the tropic, to its Northern extremity, within 10°½ of the equinoctial, where it was found to join the lands already explored by the Dutch, in ſeveral voyages from their Aſiatic ſettlements, and to which they have given the name of New Holland. Thoſe diſcoveries made in the laſt century, before Taſman's voyage, had traced the North and the Weſt coaſts of this land; and Captain Cook, by his extenſive operations on its Eaſt ſide, left little to be done toward completing the full circuit of it. Between Cape Hicks, in latitude 38°, where his examination of this coaſt began; and that part of Van

* Cook's Voyage, Vol. ii. p. 239. † See Hawkeſworth's Collection, Vol. iii.

Diemen's Land, from whence Taſman took his departure, was not above fifty-five leagues. It was highly probable, therefore, that they were connected; though Captain Cook cautiouſly ſays, that *he could not determine whether* his New South Wales, that is, the Eaſt Coaſt of New Holland, *joins to Van Diemen's Land, or no**. But what was thus left undetermined by the operations of his firſt voyage, was, in the courſe of his ſecond, ſoon cleared up; Captain Furneaux, in the Adventure, during his ſeparation from the Reſolution (a fortunate ſeparation as it thus turned out) in 1773, having explored Van Diemen's Land, from its Southern point, along the Eaſt coaſt, far beyond Taſman's ſtation, and on to the latitude 38°, where Captain Cook's examination of it in 1770 had commenced †.

It is no longer, therefore, a doubt, that we have now a full knowledge of the whole circumference of this vaſt body of land, this fifth part of the world (if I may ſo ſpeak), which our late voyages have diſcovered to be of ſo amazing a magnitude, that, to uſe Captain Cook's words, *it is of a larger extent than any other country in the known world, that does not bear the name of a continent* ‡.

4. Taſman having entered the Pacific Ocean, after leaving Van Diemen's Land, had fallen in with a coaſt to which he gave the name of New Zealand. The extent of this coaſt, and its poſition in any direction but a part of its Weſt ſide, which he ſailed along in his courſe Northward, being left abſolutely unknown, it had been a favourite opinion amongſt geographers, ſince his time, that New Zealand was

* Hawkeſworth, Vol. iii. p. 483.

† Cook's Voyage, Vol. i. p. 114.

‡ Haweſworth, Vol. iii. p. 622.

a part

a part of a Southern continent, running North and South, from the 33° to the 64° of South latitude, and its Northern coaſt, ſtretching croſs the South Pacific to an immenſe diſtance, where its Eaſtern boundary had been ſeen by Juan Fernandez, half a century before. Captain Cook's voyage in the Endeavour, has totally deſtroyed this ſuppoſition. Though Taſman muſt ſtill have the credit of having firſt ſeen New Zealand; to Captain Cook ſolely belongs that of having really explored it. He ſpent near ſix months upon its coaſts in 1769 and 1770*, circumnavigated it completely, and aſcertained its extent and diviſion into two iſlands†. Repeated viſits ſince that, have perfected this important diſcovery, which, though now known to be no part of a Southern continent, will, probably, in all future charts of the world, be diſtinguiſhed as the largeſt iſlands that exiſt in that part of the Southern hemiſphere.

5. Whether New Holland did or did not join to New Guinea, was a queſtion involved in much doubt and uncertainty, before Captain Cook's ſailing between them, through Endeavour Strait, decided it. We will not heſitate to call this an important acquiſition to geography. For though the great ſagacity and extenſive reading of Mr. Dalrymple, had diſcovered ſome traces of ſuch a paſſage having been found before‡, yet theſe traces were ſo obſcure, and ſo little known in the preſent age, that they had not generally regulated the conſtruction of our charts; the Preſident De

* From October 6, 1769, to March 31, 1770.

† Its Southern extremity nearly in latitude 47°, and its Northern in 35°½. See Captain Cook's chart, in Hawkeſworth, Vol. ii. p. 281.

‡ See the track of Torré, in one of Quiros's ſhips, in 1606, between New Holland and New Guinea, upon Mr. Dalrymple's Chart of Diſcoveries in the South Pacific Ocean, before 1764.

Broſſes,

Broſſes*, who wrote in 1756, and was well verſed in geographical reſearches, had not been able to ſatisfy himſelf about them; and Monſ. de Bougainville, in 1768, who had ventured to fall in with the South coaſt of New Guinea, near ninety leagues to the Weſtward of its South Eaſt point, choſe rather to work thoſe ninety leagues directly to windward, at a time when his people were in ſuch diſtreſs for proviſions as to eat the ſeal-ſkins from off the yards and rigging, than to run the riſk of finding a paſſage, of the exiſtence of which he entertained the ſtrongeſt doubts, by perſevering in his Weſterly courſe †. Captain Cook therefore in this part of his voyage (though he modeſtly diſclaims all merit ‡), has eſtabliſhed, beyond future controverſy, a fact of eſſential ſervice to navigation, by opening if not a new, at leaſt an unfrequented and forgotten communication between the South Pacific and Indian Oceans.

6. One more diſcovery, for which we are indebted to Captain Carteret, as ſimilar in ſome degree to that laſt mentioned, may properly ſucceed it, in this enumeration. Dampier, in ſailing round what was ſuppoſed to be part of the coaſt of New Guinea, diſcovered it to belong to a ſeparate iſland, to which he gave the name of New Britain. But that the land which he named New Britain, ſhould be ſub-divided again into two ſeparate large iſlands, with many

* M. de Broſſes ſays of New Guinea: "C'eſt une longue iſle, ou preſqu' iſle, "ſi elle touche à la Nouvelle Hollande." *Navigations aux Terres Auſtrales*, Tom. i. p. 434.

† "Le triſte état où nous étions réduits, ne nous permettoit de chercher en faiſant "route à l'oueſt, un paſſage au ſud de la Nouvelle Guinée, qui nous frayât par le "Golfe de la Carpenterie une route nouvelle & courte aux iles Moluques. *Rien "n'étoit à la vérité plus problématique que l'exiſtence de ce paſſage.*" Voyage autour du Monde, p. 259.

‡ Hawkeſworth, Vol. iii. p. 660.

ſmaller intervening, is a point of geographical information, which, if ever traced by any of the earlieſt navigators of the South Pacific, had not been handed down to the preſent age: and its having been aſcertained by Captain Carteret, deſerves to be mentioned as a diſcovery, in the ſtricteſt ſenſe of the word; a diſcovery of the utmoſt importance to navigation. St. George's Channel, through which his ſhip found a way, between New Britain and New Ireland, from the Pacific into the Indian Ocean, to uſe the Captain's own words*, "is a much better and ſhorter paſſage, whether from the Eaſtward or Weſtward, than round all the iſlands and lands to the Northward†."

V.

The voyages of Byron, Wallis, and Carteret were principally confined to a favourite object of diſcovery in the South Atlantic, and though acceſſions to geography were procured by them in the South Pacific, they could do but little toward giving the world a complete view of the contents of that immenſe expanſe of ocean, through which they only held a direct track, on their way homeward by the Eaſt-Indies. Cook, indeed, who was appointed to the conduct of the ſucceeding voyage, had a more accurate examination of the South Pacific intruſted to him. But as the improvement of aſtronomy went hand in hand, in his inſtructions, with that of geography, the Captain's ſolicitude

* Hawkeſworth, Vol. i. p. 563.

† The poſition of the Solomon Iſlands, Mendana's celebrated diſcovery, will no longer remain a matter in debate amongſt geographers, Mr. Dalrymple having, on the moſt ſatisfactory evidence, proved, that they are the cluſter of iſlands which comprizes what has ſince been called New Britain, New Ireland, &c. The great light thrown on that cluſter by Captain Carteret's diſcovery, is a ſtrong confirmation of this. See Mr. Dalrymple's Collection of Voyages, Vol. i. p. 16—21.

to arrive at Otaheite time enough to obſerve the *tranſit* of Venus, put it out of his power to deviate from his direct track, in ſearch of unknown lands that might lie to the South Eaſt of that iſland. By this unavoidable attention to his duty, a very conſiderable part of the South Pacific, and that part where the richeſt mine of diſcovery was ſuppoſed to exiſt, remained unviſited and unexplored, during that voyage in the Endeavour. To remedy this, and to clear up a point, which, though many of the learned were confident of, upon principles of ſpeculative reaſoning, and many of the unlearned admitted, upon what they thought to be credible teſtimony, was ſtill held to be very problematical, if not abſolutely groundleſs, by others who were leſs ſanguine or more incredulous; his Majeſty, always ready to forward every inquiry that can add to the ſtock of intereſting knowledge in every branch, ordered another expedition to be undertaken. The ſignal ſervices performed by Captain Cook, during his firſt voyage, of which we have given the outlines, marked him as the fitteſt perſon to finiſh an examination which he had already ſo ſkilfully executed in part. Accordingly, he was ſent out in 1772, with two ſhips, the Reſolution and Adventure, upon the moſt enlarged plan of diſcovery known in the annals of navigation. For he was inſtructed not only to circumnavigate the whole globe, but to circumnavigate it in high Southern latitudes, making ſuch traverſes, from time to time, into every corner of the Pacific Ocean not before examined, as might finally and effectually reſolve the much agitated queſtion about the exiſtence of a Southern continent, in any part of the Southern hemiſphere acceſſible by navigation.

The ample acceſſions to geography, by the diſcovery of many iſlands within the Tropic in the Pacific Ocean, in the

courſe of this voyage, which was carried on, with ſingular perſeverance, between three and four years, have been already ſtated to the reader. But the general ſearch now made, throughout the whole Southern hemiſphere, as being the principal object in view, hath been reſerved for this ſeparate article. Here, indeed, we are not to take notice of lands that have been diſcovered, but of ſeas ſailed through, where lands had been ſuppoſed to exiſt. In tracing the route of the Reſolution and Adventure, throughout the South Atlantic, the South Indian, and the South Pacific Oceans that environ the globe, and combining it with the route of the Endeavour, we receive what may be called ocular demonſtration, that Captain Cook, in his perſevering reſearches, ſailed over many an extenſive continent, which, though ſuppoſed to have been ſeen by former navigators, at the approach of his ſhips, ſunk into the boſom of the ocean, and, *like the baſeleſs fabric of a viſion, left not a rack behind**.

It

* It muſt be obſerved, however, that Monſieur le Monier, in the Memoirs of the French Academy of Sciences for 1776, pleads for the exiſtence of Cape Circumciſion, ſeen by Bouvet in 1738, which our Engliſh navigator ſought for in vain, and ſuppoſes to have been only an iſland of ice. Mr. Wales, in a paper read before the Royal Society, very forcibly replied to M. le Monier's objections; and the attack having been repeated, he has drawn up a more extended defence of this part of Captain Cook's Journal, which he hath very obligingly communicated, and is here inſerted.

Arguments, tending to prove that Captain Cook ſought for Cape Circumciſion under the proper Meridian; and that the Objections which have been made to his Conduct, in this reſpect, are not well founded.

In the Memoirs of the Royal Academy of Sciences at Paris for 1776, printed in 1779, *M. Le Monier* has made ſome remarks, with a deſign to ſhew that Captain Cook ſought the land, uſually called Cape Circumciſion, in a wrong place; and that, inſtead of looking for it under the meridian of 9° ½ or 10° of Eaſt longitude, he ought to have looked for it under a meridian which is only 3°, or 3° ½ to the Eaſtward of the meridian

It has been urged, that the exiſtence of a Southern continent is neceſſary to preſerve an *equilibrium* between the two

meridian of Greenwich: and conſequently that this land may exiſt, notwithſtanding all that has yet been done to find it. *M. Le Monier* has alſo two additional Memoirs on the ſame ſubject, in the volume for 1779, occaſioned, as it appears, by ſome objections which have been made to his former Memoir before the Academy. For ſome reaſon or other, the Academy has not thought proper to print the objections which have been made to *M. Le Monier*'s hypotheſis; nor has he been particular enough in his two Memoirs, which reply to them, to enable me to ſay of what importance the objections are. I can only gather, that they contain ſome exceptions to the quantity by which *M. Le Monier* aſſerts the variation alters in 10° of longitude, under the parallel of 54° South; and which, I conceive, has little to do in the diſpute.

Whether the land, uſually called Cape Circumciſion, exiſts or not, is a point of ſmall importance to geography; as the moſt ſtrenuous aſſerters of its exiſtence muſt allow it to be a very inconſiderable iſland, and of no uſe. This, therefore, is not, in itſelf, a matter worthy of diſpute: but, in aſſerting this, *M. Le Monier* has, and I am ſorry to obſerve it, with ſome aſperity too, particularly in his ſecond Memoir, endeavoured to cenſure the judgment and conduct of Captain Cook, whoſe memory I have every reaſon to revere, as well as the judgment of thoſe who were with him; and, on this account, I cannot help feeling myſelf called on to explain the motives which induced *Captain Cook* to place no dependance on the arguments, now adduced by *M. Le Monier*, in ſupport of his ſuppoſition; and which, *M. Le Monier* muſt know, were not unattended to, at that time, from what the Captain has ſaid, p. 236. Vol. II. of his Account of the Voyage. And it may be proper to obſerve here, that what fell from *Captain Cook*, on this ſubject, was to ſhew that this circumſtance was then attended to, and not to throw blame on *M. Bouvet*, for whoſe memory and abilities *Captain Cook* entertained great reſpect: nor is it incompatible with the utmoſt reſpect, for a man to have a favourable opinion of his own labours; or to endeavour to ſhew why he thinks the diſagreement between them and thoſe of another perſon, when there is one, does not ariſe from an error committed by himſelf. There could, therefore, be no occaſion for *M. Le Monier* to expreſs himſelf as he has done in ſeveral parts of his ſecond Memoir.

The ſubſtance of *M. Le Monier*'s argument is this. In 1739, when *M. Bouvet*'s diſcovery is ſuppoſed to have been made, the methods for determining the longitude of a ſhip at ſea were very defective; and, of courſe, the longitude of any land which happened accidentally to be ſeen by one, was equally uncertain. On a preſumption that this was the caſe with reſpect to Cape Circumciſion, *M. Le Monier* enquires into the quantity of the variation of the magnetic needle, obſerved by M. Bouvet at that place, and alſo into obſervations of the ſame kind, made at other places in the neighbourhood of it, about the ſame time, as well as both before and ſince. And by comparing theſe obſervations together, he concludes, that at the time when Captain Cook was

in

two hemiſpheres. But however plauſible this theory may ſeem, at firſt ſight, experience has abundantly detected its fallacy.

in theſe ſeas, the variation of the needle at Cape Circumciſion muſt have been 10° Weſterly: whereas, in the moſt Weſterly point of Captain Cook's tract, where he was ſufficiently near the parallel of 54° South, to have ſeen land ſituated in it, the variation was 13° ½ Weſterly. This difference of 3° ½, in the variation, anſwers to about 7° of longitude, in this part of the parallel of 54° South: and by ſo much did Captain Cook fall in with this parallel to the Eaſtward of what he ought to have done to ſee the land in queſtion. "Hence (M. Le Monier infers), that it is not ſurpriz-"ing the Britiſh navigator ſhould not find Cape Circumciſion under a meridian "which is 28° ½ to the Eaſtward of Ferro, when it is really ſituated under a meridian "which is but 21° ½ to the Eaſtward of it."

In replying to theſe allegations, I ſhall, firſt, ſhew, that, granting the dependence which *M. Le Monier* ſuppoſes may be placed on obſervations of the variation made at ſea, he has ſtated the quantity of the variation, obſerved on board the Reſolution, very erroneouſly.

Secondly, I ſhall prove, beyond contradiction, that obſervations of the variation, made at ſea, cannot be depended on, for the purpoſes to which *M. Le Monier* has applied them.

And, laſtly, that no material error had crept into *M. Bouvet*'s reckoning; but that if any error did exiſt, it muſt have been of a contrary nature to that which *M. Le Monier* ſuppoſes.

That *M. Le Monier* has not given altogether a true repreſentation of the matter, will appear from hence. On the 16th of February, at noon *, the Reſolution was in latitude 54° 31½′ South, which is ſufficiently near the parallel of 54° South, to ſee high land, the Northern extremity of which lies to the Southward of that parallel; and at that time we were in 6° Eaſt of Greenwich, or 23° ½ Eaſt of the iſland of Ferro: that is, 4° ¾ leſs than is aſſigned for our ſituation by *M. Le Monier*. On the evening of the ſame day, the ſhip being in latitude 54° 24′, and longitude 6° 30′, or 24° ½ Eaſt of Ferro, the variation was no more than 12° 7 Weſt, which alſo is near a degree and half leſs than *M. Le Monier* ſays it was, when we firſt arrived in a proper parallel for ſeeing Cape Circumciſion. It is true, the next morning, in latitude 54° 21½′ South, longitude 8° 6′ Eaſt, we had 13° 42′ Weſt variation; but this was after we had run more than two degrees within ſight of the parallel of 54° South. It is, moreover, highly probable, that both theſe variations were too great; for, on the 17th, in the evening, latitude 54° 25′ South, and longitude 9° 20′ Eaſt; that is, 1° ¼ more

* I here go by the dates in "The Original Aſtronomical Obſervations," printed by order of the Board of Longitude; which, after the 14th of February 1775, differ one day from Captain Cook's dates.

fallacy. In conſequence of Captain Cook's voyage, now under conſideration, we have a thorough knowledge of the ſtate

more to the Eaſtward, and after we had run 3° ½ on the parallel we were then on, the variation was no more than 13° 16′ Weſt. It is alſo worthy of remark, that on the 14th, in the evening, latitude 56° 14½′ South, and longitude 4° 50′ Eaſt, which is but 1° 10′ to the Weſtward of the point, where the Reſolution came firſt into a proper ſituation to ſee land, ſituated in the parallel of 54° South, the variation obſerved was no more than 6° 50′ Weſt. And we may further add, that on the 1ſt of March, 1774, the Adventure had no more than 12° ¾ Weſt variation, though ſhe was then conſiderably both to the Northward and Eaſtward of our ſituation on the 17th of February in the morning, on both which accounts the variation ought to have been greater, inſtead of a whole degree leſs. From all theſe circumſtances, there can be little doubt but that the two variations, obſerved by us on the 16th and 17th of February, were too great; or that the variation, at the point where the Reſolution firſt came ſufficiently near the parallel of 54° South, to ſee land, the Northern extremity of which is ſituated in that parallel, could not be more than 11° ½ Weſt, inſtead of 13° ½, as *M. Le Monier* has repreſented it.

Under this head of enquiry I may alſo obſerve, that although the Reſolution was too much to the Southward of the parallel of 54° South, when ſhe croſſed the meridian which is 21° ½ to the Eaſtward of Ferro; that is, 3° ¾ Eaſt of Greenwich, the longitude which *M. Le Monier* aſſigns for Cape Circumciſion, to ſee if it had been in that ſituation; yet her conſort, the Adventure, was for ſeveral degrees on each ſide of that meridian; and eſpecially when ſhe had 10° ½ of Weſt variation, full as near to the parallel of 54° South, as *M. Bouvet* was to the land when he ſaw it *: and on the day that ſhe actually paſſed that meridian, had fine clear weather †. Hence, therefore, granting *M. Le Monier* his own arguments, which, however, I have proved to be erroneous; and that obſervations made at ſea, for the variation of the compaſs, may be depended on for the purpoſe of finding the longitude, it is utterly impoſſible that both the Reſolution and Adventure could have paſſed Cape Circumciſion without ſeeing it. But I ſhall now ſhew, that theſe obſervations are liable to a much greater error than the whole quantity, ſo vigorouſly inſiſted on by this gentleman.

I will not here run the riſk of incurring *M. Le Monier*'s diſpleaſure, by calling the accuracy of *M. Bouvet*'s obſervations in queſtion; but will admit every thing that he himſelf can think due to the inſtruments and obſervations of that deſerving navigator. It is enough for my argument, and it is but too evident, from the obſervations themſelves, that ours were by no means capable of determining the variation to ſo ſmall a quantity

* See The Original Aſtronomical Obſervations, p. 185, and Bouvet's Voyage, publiſhed by Mr. Dalrymple, p. 4, and 11.

† See the Obſervations, p. 218.

ſtate of the Southern hemiſphere, and can pronounce with certainty, that the *equilibrium* of the globe is effectually preſerved,

quantity as that which *M. Le Monier* reſts his whole cauſe upon; and if ſo, his arguments, which depend wholly on a ſuppoſition, that not only they, but *M. Bouvet*'s alſo, were capable of determining it with the utmoſt exactneſs, muſt fall to the ground.

1ſt, It appears, from various inſtances, that the variations obſerved by the ſame compaſs would differ 3° to 5°, 6°, and ſometimes even 10°, from no other cauſe whatever, but putting the ſhip's head a contrary way *.

2d, That the ſame compaſs, in the ſame ſituation in every reſpect, within a few miles, but at two different times of the ſame day, would give variations differing from one another, 3°, 4°, 5°, 6°, and even 7° †.

3d, That the ſame compaſs, on the ſame day, and in the hands of the ſame obſerver, will give variations differing from one another by 5°, on board the ſame ſhip, when under ſail, and when at anchor in a road-ſtead ‡.

4th, Compaſſes, made by the ſame artiſt, at the ſame time and place, but on board different ſhips, differed 3°, 4°, and even 5° in the variation §.

5th, The ſame Compaſſes, on board the ſame ſhip, and within a few miles of the ſame ſituation, but at different times of our being there, gave variations differing by 4° and 5°, or upwards ‖.

6th, Different

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* See the Original Aſtronomical Obſervations, made in the ſecond Voyage, March 11, 1773, p. 372. January 24, 1774, p. 375. and July 28, p. 378.

† Obſervations in the ſecond Voyage, February 2, 1773, p. 371. and January 19, 1775, p. 382. Alſo Obſervations in laſt Voyage, July 17, 1776, p. 179. Auguſt 30, p. 181. January 24, 1777, p. 192. and September 15, 1778, p. 205.

‡ Aſtronomical obſervations of ſecond Voyage, July 14, 1775, p. 385.

§ Compare the Aſtronomical Obſervations, made in the ſecond Voyage, Auguſt 3, and 9, and September 4, 1772, p. 181. with thoſe of the ſame dates, p. 369. Thoſe of January 11, and 14, and February 7, 1773, p. 182, with thoſe of the ſame dates, p. 371. Alſo Aſtronomical Obſervations, made in the laſt Voyage, of December 27, 1776, p. 191. February 22, 1778, p. 201. May 5, and 8, p. 102. July 9, and 24, 1779, p. 209. and January 16, 1780, p. 212. with thoſe of the ſame dates, p. 291, 293, 294, 297, and 298.

‖ Compare Aſtronomical Obſervations, made in the ſecond Voyage, February 10, p. 375. with Obſervations of December 11, 1774, p. 381. Alſo Obſervations, made in the laſt Voyage, May 3, and June 18, 1779, p. 208.

preſerved, though the proportion of ſea actually ſailed through, leaves no ſufficient ſpace for the correſponding maſs

6th, Different compaſſes, at the ſame time, on board the ſame ſhip, and in every reſpect under the ſame circumſtances, will give variations differing from one another, 3°, 4°, 5°, and 6° *.

Theſe differences, ſeveral of which happened very near the place in queſtion, are all of them at leaſt equal to, moſt of them much greater, and ſome of them double that which *M. Le Monier* founds his argument on, even according to his own account of it, which I have already ſhewn is by no means admiſſible, and, therefore, totally invalidate it. To allege that the inſtruments made uſe of in Captain Cook's two voyages were bad, or that the obſervers were not expert in the uſe of them, will anſwer no purpoſe: they are the inſtruments and obſervers which *M. Le Monier*'s argument muſt reſt on; and, therefore, let thoſe of the French, or any other navigator, have been ever ſo much better than they were (which few will be hardy enough to aſſert, and fewer ſtill found weak enough to believe), it will avail nothing to the point in diſpute, which muſt evidently fall to the ground, if the obſervations made for finding the variation in Captain Cook's voyage are not ſufficient to ſupport it. What then muſt become of it, if *M. Bouvet*'s obſervations, of this kind, were liable to an equal, or a greater error? which, without any reaſonable cauſe for offence, we might ſuppoſe they were.

It is not neceſſary to account for theſe differences in the obſerved variations in this place, nor yet to point out the reaſons why ſuch anomalies have not been noticed in obſervations of this kind before. I ſhall, however, remark, that I have hinted at ſome of the cauſes in my introduction to the obſervations which were made in Captain Cook's ſecond voyage; and many others will readily offer themſelves to perſons who have had much practice in making theſe obſervations, and who have attentively conſidered the principles on which the inſtruments are conſtructed, and the manner in which they are fabricated. Nor is it at all ſurpriſing, that the errors to which the inſtruments and obſervations of this kind are liable, ſhould not have been diſcovered before, ſince no navigators before us ever gave the ſame opportunity, by multiplying their obſervations, and making them under ſuch a variety of circumſtances as we did.

Having now fully ſhewn, that the circumſtances, brought forward by *M. Le Monier*, in ſupport of his argument, are neither ſuch as can be depended on, nor yet fairly

* Obſervations made in the ſecond Voyage, February 2, 1773, p. 371. March 18, p. 372. and January 24, 1774, p. 375. See alſo Obſervations made laſt Voyage, Auguſt 18, 1776, p. 180. October 7, and 14, p. 189, and 190. December 12, p. ibid. January 24, 1777, p. 192. March 10, p. 193. July 9, and 17, 1779, p. 209. January 16, 1780, p. 212. March 24, p. 213. and May 19, p. 214.

maſs of land, which, on ſpeculative arguments had been maintained to be neceſſary *.

If

fairly repreſented, I ſhall next attempt to demonſtrate, that it is utterly improbable M. Bouvet could be out, in his account of longitude, ſo much as is here ſuppoſed, in the ſhort run which had been made from the iſland of St. Catherine, the place they took their departure from: on the contrary, that there is ſufficient reaſon to believe the error, of whatever magnitude it might be, was of a different nature from that contended for, and that the two ſhips, inſtead of being to the Weſtward of their account of longitude, were actually to the Eaſtward of it. For, according to their Journals, extracted from the archives of the French Eaſt-India Company, by *M. D'Apres*, printed under his inſpection, and publiſhed by Mr. Dalrymple, F. R. S. amongſt other voyages made for the purpoſe of examining the Southern parts of the Atlantic Ocean, the longitude, according to the Eagle's run from St. Catherine's, was 26° 27′, and according to the Mary's, 26° 20′ Eaſt of Teneriff; that is, 9° 57′, and 9° 50′ Eaſt of Greenwich, or 27° 43′, and 27° 36′ Eaſt of Ferro. But the Mary, which went to the Cape of Good Hope, made 7° 13′ Eaſt longitude from the land in queſtion, to that place. Conſequently the Cape of Good Hope being in longitude 18° 23′ Eaſt of Greenwich, Cape Circumciſion will be in 11° 10′ Eaſt of Greenwich, or 1° 20′ more to the Eaſtward than the run by the ſame ſhip from the iſland of St. Catherine's makes it. Again, the Eagle made the difference of longitude between Cape Circumciſion, and the iſland of Rodrigues, 49° 44′; and by the obſervations of *M. Pingre*, this iſland is in 62° 50′ of Eaſt longitude from Greenwich: Cape Circumciſion is therefore in 13° 6′ Eaſt of Greenwich, or 2° 9′ more to the Eaſtward than by the Eagle's run from St. Catherine's. Hence, therefore, as the longitude of this land, reſulting from a compariſon of that ſhewn by each of the ſhips, on their making land at places where the longitude is exceedingly well determined, is greater than that which reſults from their run from St. Catherine's, the longitude of which is not known with certainty within ſeveral degrees, we may infer, with great ſafety, that whatever the quantity of M. Bouvet's error might be, when he is ſuppoſed to have ſeen Cape Circumciſion, it muſt have been in defect, and not in exceſs, as *M. Le Monier* ſuppoſes it.

CHRIST'S HOSPITAL, April 20, 1784. W. WALES.

* The judgment of the ingenious Author of *Recherches ſur les Américains*, on this queſtion, ſeems to be very deſerving of a place here: " Qu'on calcule, comme on " voudra, on ſera toujours contraint d'avouer, qu'il y a une plus grande portion de " continent ſituée dans la latitude ſeptentrionale, que dans la latitude auſtrale.

" Ce'ſt fort mal à-propos, qu'on a ſoutenu que cette répartition inégale ne ſauroit " exiſter, ſous prétexte que le globe perdroit ſon équilibre, faute d'un contrepoids ſuf-

" fiſant

If former navigators have added more land to the known globe than Captain Cook, to him, at leaſt, was reſerved the honour of being foremoſt in diſcloſing to us the extent of ſea that covers its ſurface. His own ſummary view of the tranſactions of this voyage, will be a proper concluſion to theſe remarks: " I had now made the circuit of the " Southern Ocean in a high latitude, and traverſed it in " ſuch a manner as to leave not the leaſt room for there " being a continent, unleſs near the pole, and out of the " reach of navigation. By twice viſiting the Tropical Sea, " I had not only ſettled the ſituation of ſome old diſcove- " ries, but made there many new ones, and left, I conceive, " very little to be done, even in that part. Thus I flatter " myſelf, that the intention of the voyage has, in every re- " ſpect, been fully anſwered; the Southern hemiſphere " ſufficiently explored; and a final end put to the ſearching " after a Southern continent, which has, at times, engroſſed " the attention of ſome of the Maritime Powers for near " two centuries paſt, and been a favourite theory amongſt " the geographers of all ages*."

Thus far, therefore, the voyages to diſcloſe new tracks of navigation, and to reform old defects in geography, appear to have been proſecuted with a ſatisfactory ſhare of ſucceſs. A peruſal of the foregoing ſummary of what had been done, will enable every one to judge what was ſtill

" fiſant au pole méridionale. Il eſt vrai qu'un pied cube d'eau ſalée ne peſe pas au- " tant qu'un pied cube de terre; mais on auroit dû réfléchir, qu'il peut y avoir ſous " l'ocean des lits & des couches de matières, dont la péſanteur ſpécifique varie à " l'infini, & que le peu de profondeur d'une mer, verſée ſur une grande ſurface, con- " trebalance les endroits où il y a moins de mer, mais où elle eſt plus profonde." *Recherches Philoſophiques*, Tom. ii. p. 375.

* Cook's Voyage, Vol. ii. p. 239.

wanting to complete the great plan of diſcovery. The Southern hemiſphere had, indeed, been repeatedly viſited, and its utmoſt acceſſible extremities been ſurveyed. But much uncertainty, and, of courſe, great variety of opinion, ſubſiſted, as to the navigable extremities of our own hemiſphere; particularly, as to the exiſtence, or, at leaſt, as to the practicability of a Northern paſſage between the Atlantic and Pacific Oceans, either by ſailing Eaſtward, round Aſia, or Weſtward, round North America.

It was obvious, that if ſuch a paſſage could be effected, voyages to Japan and China, and, indeed, to the Eaſt Indies in general, would be much ſhortened; and conſequently become more profitable, than by making the tedious circuit of the Cape of Good Hope. Accordingly, it became a favourite object of the Engliſh to effectuate this, above two centuries ago; and (to ſay nothing of Cabot's original attempt, in 1497, which ended in the diſcovery of Newfoundland, and the Labradore coaſt) from Frobiſher's firſt voyage to find a Weſtern paſſage, in 1576, to thoſe of James and of Fox, in 1631, repeated trials had been made by our enterprizing adventurers. But though farther knowledge of the Northern extent of America was obtained in the courſe of theſe voyages, by the diſcovery of Hudſon's and Baffin's Bays, the wiſhed-for paſſage, on that ſide, into the Pacific Ocean, was ſtill unattained. Our countrymen, and the Dutch, were equally unſucceſsful, in various attempts, to find this paſſage in an Eaſtern direction. Wood's failure, in 1676, ſeems to have cloſed the long liſt of unfortunate Northern expeditions in that century; and the diſcovery, if not abſolutely deſpaired of, by having been ſo often miſſed, ceaſed, for many years, to be ſought for.

Mr.

Mr. Dobbs, a warm advocate for the probability of a North Weſt paſſage through Hudſon's Bay, in our own time, once more recalled the attention of this country to that undertaking; and, by his active zeal, and perſevering ſolicitation, renewed the ſpirit of diſcovery. But it was renewed in vain. For Captain Middleton, ſent out by Government in 1741, and Captains Smith and Moore, by a private ſociety, in 1746, though encouraged by an act of Parliament paſſed in the preceding year, that annexed a reward of twenty thouſand pounds to the diſcovery of a paſſage, returned from Hudſon's Bay with reports of their proceedings, that left the accompliſhment of this favourite object at as great a diſtance as ever.

When reſearches of this kind, no longer left to the ſolicitation of an individual, or to the ſubſcriptions of private adventurers, became cheriſhed by the Royal attention, in the preſent reign, and warmly promoted by the Miniſter at the head of the naval department, it was impoſſible, while ſo much was done toward exploring the remoteſt corners of the Southern hemiſphere, that the Northern paſſage ſhould not be attempted. Accordingly, while Captain Cook was proſecuting his voyage toward the South Pole, in 1773, Lord Mulgrave ſailed with two ſhips, *to determine how far navigation was practicable toward the North Pole.* And though his Lordſhip met with the ſame inſuperable bar to his progreſs, which former navigators had experienced *, the hopes of opening a communication between the Pacific and Atlantic Oceans, by a Northerly courſe, were not abandoned;

* See the hiſtory of former attempts to ſail toward the North Pole, in the Introduction to Lord Mulgrave's Journal. Mr. Barrington has collected ſeveral inſtances of ſhips advancing to very high latitudes. See his Miſcellanies, p. 1—124.

and a voyage for that purpoſe, was ordered to be undertaken.

The operations propoſed to be purſued, were ſo new, ſo extenſive, and ſo various, that the ſkill and experience of Captain Cook, it was thought, would be requiſite to conduct them. Without being liable to any charge of want of zeal for the public ſervice, he might have paſſed the reſt of his days in the command to which he had been appointed in Greenwich Hoſpital, there to enjoy the fame he had dearly earned in two circumnavigations of the world. But he cheerfully relinquiſhed this honourable ſtation at home; and, happy that the Earl of Sandwich had not caſt his eye upon any other Commander, engaged in the conduct of the expedition, the hiſtory of which is preſented to the Public in theſe Volumes; an expedition that would expoſe him to the toils and perils of a third circumnavigation, by a track hitherto unattempted. Every former navigator round the globe had made his paſſage home to Europe by the Cape of Good Hope; the arduous taſk was now aſſigned to Captain Cook, of attempting it, by reaching the high Northern latitudes between Aſia and America. So that the uſual plan of diſcovery was reverſed; and, inſtead of a paſſage from the Atlantic to the Pacific, one from the latter into the former was to be tried. For it was wiſely foreſeen, that whatever openings or inlets there might be on the Eaſt ſide of America, which lie in a direction which could give any hopes of a paſſage, the ultimate ſucceſs of it would ſtill depend upon there being an open ſea between the Weſt ſide of that continent, and the extremities of Aſia. Captain Cook, therefore, was ordered to proceed into the Pacific Ocean, through the chain of his new iſlands in the Southern tropic,

and having croſſed the equator into its Northern Parts, then to hold ſuch a courſe as might probably fix many intereſting points in geography, and produce intermediate diſcoveries, in his progreſs Northward to the principal ſcene of his operations.

But the plan of the voyage, and the various objects it embraced, will beſt appear from the Inſtructions under which Captain Cook ſailed; and the inſertion of them here, will convey ſuch authentic information, as may enable the Reader to judge with preciſion how far they have been carried into execution.

By the COMMISSIONERS for executing the Office of Lord High Admiral of GREAT BRITAIN and IRELAND, &c.

SECRET INSTRUCTIONS for Captain JAMES COOK, Commander of his Majeſty's Sloop the RESOLUTION.

WHEREAS the Earl of Sandwich has ſignified to us his Majeſty's pleaſure, that an attempt ſhould be made to find out a Northern paſſage by ſea from the Pacific to the Atlantic Ocean; and whereas we have, in purſuance thereof, cauſed his Majeſty's ſloops Reſolution and Diſcovery to be fitted, in all reſpects, proper to proceed upon a voyage for the purpoſe above-mentioned, and, from the experience we have had of your abilities and good conduct in your late voyages, have thought fit to intruſt you with the conduct of the preſent intended voyage, and with that view appointed you to command the firſt mentioned ſloop, and directed Captain Clerke, who commands the other, to follow your orders for his further proceedings; You are hereby required and directed to proceed with the ſaid two ſloops directly to the Cape of Good Hope, unleſs you ſhall judge it neceſſary to ſtop at Madeira, the Cape de Verd, or Canary Iſlands, to take in wine for the uſe of their companies; in which caſe you are at liberty to do ſo, taking care to remain there no longer than may be neceſſary for that purpoſe.

On

On your arrival at the Cape of Good Hope, you are to refreſh the ſloops companies, and to cauſe the ſloops to be ſupplied with as much proviſions and water as they can conveniently ſtow.

You are, if poſſible, to leave the Cape of Good Hope by the end of October, or the beginning of November next, and proceed to the Southward in ſearch of ſome iſlands ſaid to have been lately ſeen by the French, in the latitude of 48° 0′ *South, and about the meridian of Mauritius. In caſe you find thoſe iſlands, you are to examine them thoroughly for a good harbour; and upon diſcovering one, make the neceſſary obſervations to facilitate the finding it again; as a good port, in that ſituation, may hereafter prove very uſeful, although it ſhould afford little or nothing more than ſhelter, wood, and water. You are not, however, to ſpend too much time in looking out for thoſe iſlands, or in the examination of them, if found, but proceed to Otaheite, or the Society Iſles (touching at New Zealand in your way thither, if you ſhould judge it neceſſary and convenient), and taking care to arrive there time enough to admit of your giving the ſloops companies the refreſhment they may ſtand in need of, before you proſecute the farther object of theſe inſtructions.*

Upon your arrival at Otaheite, or the Society Iſles, you are to land Omiah at ſuch of them as he may chooſe, and to leave him there.

You are to diſtribute among the Chiefs of thoſe iſlands ſuch part of the preſents with which you have been ſupplied, as you ſhall judge proper, reſerving the remainder to diſtribute among the natives of the countries you may diſcover in the Northern Hemiſphere: And having refreſhed the people belonging to the ſloops under your command, and taken on board ſuch wood and water as they may reſpectively ſtand in need of, you are to leave thoſe iſlands in the beginning of February, or ſooner if you ſhall judge it neceſſary, and then proceed in as direct a courſe as you can to the coaſt of New Albion, endeavouring to fall in with it in the latitude of 45° 0′ *North; and taking care, in your way thither, not to loſe any time in ſearch of new lands, or to ſtop at any you may fall in with, unleſs you find it neceſſary to recruit your wood and water.*

You are alſo, in your way thither, ſtrictly enjoined not to touch upon any part of the Spaniſh dominions on the Weſtern continent of America, unleſs driven thither by ſome unavoidable accident; in which caſe you are to ſtay no longer there than ſhall be abſolutely neceſſary, and to be very careful not to give any umbrage or offence to any of the inhabitants or ſubjects of his Catholic Majeſty. And if, in your farther progreſs to the Northward, as hereafter directed, you find any ſubjects of any European Prince or State upon any part of the coaſt you may think proper to viſit, you are not to diſturb them, or give them

them any juſt cauſe of offence, but, on the contrary, to treat them with civility and friendſhip.

Upon your arrival on the coaſt of New Albion, you are to put into the firſt convenient port to recruit your wood and water, and procure refreſhments, and then to proceed Northward along the coaſt, as far as the latitude of 65°, or farther, if you are not obſtructed by lands or ice; taking care not to loſe any time in exploring rivers or inlets, or upon any other account, until you get into the before-mentioned latitude of 65°, where we could wiſh you to arrive in the month of June next. When you get that length, you are very carefully to ſearch for, and to explore, ſuch rivers or inlets as may appear to be of a conſiderable extent, and pointing towards Hudſon's or Baffin's Bays; and if, from your own obſervations, or from any information you may receive from the natives (who, there is reaſon to believe, are the ſame race of people, and ſpeak the ſame language, of which you are furniſhed with a Vocabulary, as the Eſquimaux), there ſhall appear to be a certainty, or even a probability, of a water paſſage into the afore-mentioned bays, or either of them, you are, in ſuch caſe, to uſe your utmoſt endeavours to paſs through with one or both of the ſloops, unleſs you ſhall be of opinion that the paſſage may be effected with more certainty, or with greater probability, by ſmaller veſſels; in which caſe you are to ſet up the frames of one or both the ſmall veſſels with which you are provided, and, when they are put together, and are properly fitted, ſtored, and victualled, you are to diſpatch one or both of them, under the care of proper officers, with a ſufficient number of petty officers, men, and boats, in order to attempt the ſaid paſſage; with ſuch inſtructions for their rejoining you, if they ſhould fail, or for their farther proceedings, if they ſhould ſucceed in the attempt, as you ſhall judge moſt proper. But, nevertheleſs, if you ſhall find it more eligible to purſue any other meaſures than thoſe above pointed out, in order to make a diſcovery of the before-mentioned paſſage (if any ſuch there be), you are at liberty, and we leave it to your diſcretion, to purſue ſuch meaſures accordingly.

In caſe you ſhall be ſatisfied that there is no paſſage through to the above-mentioned bays, ſufficient for the purpoſes of navigation, you are, at the proper ſeaſon of the year, to repair to the port of St. Peter and St. Paul in Kamtſchatka, or wherever elſe you ſhall judge more proper, in order to refreſh your people and paſs the Winter; and, in the Spring of the enſuing year 1778, to proceed from thence to the Northward, as far as, in your prudence, you may think proper, in further ſearch of a North Eaſt, or North Weſt paſſage, from the Pacific Ocean into the Atlantic Ocean, or the North Sea: and if, from

your own obſervation, or any information you may receive, there ſhall appear to be a probability of ſuch paſſage, you are to proceed as above directed: and, having diſcovered ſuch paſſage, or failed in the attempt, make the beſt of your way back to England, by ſuch route as you may think beſt for the improvement of geography and navigation; repairing to Spithead with both ſloops, where they are to remain till further order.

At whatever places you may touch in the courſe of your voyage, where accurate obſervations of the nature hereafter mentioned have not already been made, you are, as far as your time will allow, very carefully to obſerve the true ſituation of ſuch places, both in latitude and longitude; the variation of the needle; bearings of head-lands; height, direction, and courſe of the tides and currents; depths and ſoundings of the ſea; ſhoals, rocks, &c.; and alſo to ſurvey, make charts, and take views of ſuch bays, harbours, and different parts of the coaſt, and to make ſuch notations thereon, as may be uſeful either to navigation or commerce. You are alſo carefully to obſerve the nature of the ſoil, and the produce thereof; the animals and fowls that inhabit or frequent it; the fiſhes that are to be found in the rivers or upon the coaſt, and in what plenty; and, in caſe there are any peculiar to ſuch places, to deſcribe them as minutely, and to make as accurate drawings of them, as you can: and, if you find any metals, minerals, or valuable ſtones, or any extraneous foſſils, you are to bring home ſpecimens of each; as alſo of the ſeeds of ſuch trees, ſhrubs, plants, fruits, and grains, peculiar to thoſe places, as you may be able to collect, and to tranſmit them to our Secretary, that proper examination and experiments may be made of them. You are likewiſe to obſerve the genius, temper, diſpoſition, and number of the natives and inhabitants, where you find any; and to endeavour, by all proper means, to cultivate a friendſhip with them; making them preſents of ſuch trinkets as you may have on board, and they may like beſt; inviting them to traffic; and ſhewing them every kind of civility and regard; but taking care, nevertheleſs, not to ſuffer yourſelf to be ſurprized by them, but to be always on your guard againſt any accidents.

You are alſo, with the conſent of the natives, to take poſſeſſion, in the name of the King of Great Britain, of convenient ſituations in ſuch countries as you may diſcover, that have not already been diſcovered or viſited by any other European power; and to diſtribute among the inhabitants ſuch things as will remain as traces and teſtimonies of your having been there; but if you find the countries ſo diſcovered are uninhabited, you are to take poſſeſſion of them for his Majeſty, by ſetting up proper marks and inſcriptions, as firſt diſcoverers and poſſeſſors.

But

But forasmuch as, in undertakings of this nature, several emergencies may arise not to be foreseen, and therefore not particularly to be provided for by instructions before-hand; you are, in all such cases, to proceed as you shall judge most advantageous to the service on which you are employed.

You are, by all opportunities, to send to our Secretary, for our information, accounts of your proceedings, and copies of the surveys and drawings you shall have made; and upon your arrival in England, you are immediately to repair to this office, in order to lay before us a full account of your proceedings in the whole course of your voyage; taking care, before you leave the sloop, to demand from the officers and petty officers, the log-books and journals they may have kept, and to seal them up for our inspection; and enjoining them, and the whole crew, not to divulge where they have been, until they shall have permission so to do: and you are to direct Captain Clerk to do the same, with respect to the officers, petty officers, and crew of the Discovery.

If any accident should happen to the Resolution in the course of the voyage, so as to disable her from proceeding any farther, you are, in such case, to remove yourself and her crew into the Discovery, and to prosecute your voyage in her; her Commander being hereby strictly required to receive you on board, and to obey your orders, the same, in every respect, as when you were actually on board the Resolution: And, in case of your inability, by sickness or otherwise, to carry these Instructions into execution, you are to be careful to leave them with the next officer in command, who is hereby required to execute them in the best manner he can.

Given under our hands the 6th day of July, 1776,

SANDWICH.
C. SPENCER.
H. PALLISER.

By command of their Lordships,

PH. STEPHENS.

Besides ordering Captain Cook to sail on this important voyage, Government, in earnest about the object of it, adopted a measure, which, while it could not but have a

powerful operation on the crews of the Reſolution and Diſcovery, by adding the motives of intereſt, to the obligations of duty; at the ſame time encouraged all his Majeſty's ſubjects to engage in attempts toward the propoſed diſcovery. By the act of parliament, paſſed in 1745 *, a reward of twenty thouſand pounds had been held out. But it had been held out only to the ſhips *belonging to any of his Majeſty's ſubjects*, excluſive of his Majeſty's own ſhips. The act had a ſtill more capital defect. It held out this reward only to ſuch ſhips as ſhould diſcover a paſſage *through Hudſon's Bay*; and, as we ſhall ſoon take occaſion to explain, it was, by this time, pretty certain, that no ſuch paſſage exiſted within thoſe limits. Effectual care was taken to remedy both theſe defects, by paſſing a new law; which, after reciting the proviſions of the former, proceeds as follows: "And "whereas many advantages, both to commerce and ſcience, "may be alſo expected from the diſcovery of *any Northern* "*paſſage* for veſſels by ſea, between the Atlantic and Pacific "Oceans—be it enacted, That if any ſhip belonging to any "of his Majeſty's ſubjects, or *to his Majeſty*, ſhall find out, "and ſail through, any paſſage by ſea, between the Atlan- "tic and Pacific Oceans, in *any direction*, or parallel of the "Northern hemiſphere, to the Northward of the 52° of "Northern latitude, the owners of ſuch ſhips, if belong- "ing to any of his Majeſty's ſubjects, or *the commander, offi- "cers, and ſeamen, of ſuch ſhip belonging to his Majeſty*, ſhall re- "ceive, as a reward for ſuch diſcovery, the ſum of twenty "thouſand pounds.

"And whereas ſhips employed, both in the Spitzbergen "Seas, and in Davis's Straits, have frequent opportunities

* See the Statutes at Large, 18 George II. chap. 17.

" of approaching the North Pole, though they have not " time, during the courſe of one ſummer, to penetrate into " the Pacific Ocean: and whereas ſuch approaches may " greatly tend to the diſcovery of a communication between " the Atlantic and Pacific Oceans, as well as be attended " with many advantages to commerce and ſcience, &c. be " it enacted, That if any ſhip ſhall approach to within 1° " of the North Pole, the owner, &c. or commander, &c. " ſo approaching, ſhall receive, as a reward for ſuch firſt " approach, the ſum of five thouſand pounds *."

That nothing might be omitted that could facilitate the ſucceſs of Captain Cook's expedition, ſome time before he ſailed, in the beginning of the ſummer of 1776, Lieutenant Pickerſgill, appointed Commander of his Majeſty's armed brig the Lion, was ordered " to proceed to Davis's Straits, " for the protection of the Britiſh whale fiſhers;" and that firſt object being ſecured, " he was then required and di- " rected to proceed up Baffin's Bay, and explore the coaſts " thereof, as far as in his judgment the ſame could be done " without apparent riſk, taking care to leave the above " mentioned Bay ſo timely, as to ſecure his return to Eng- " land in the fall of the year;" and it was farther enjoined to him, " to make nautical remarks of every kind, and to " employ Mr. Lane (Maſter of the veſſel under his com- " mand) in ſurveying, making charts, and taking views of " the ſeveral bays, harbours, and different parts of the coaſts " which he might viſit, and in making ſuch notations thereon " as might be uſeful to geography and navigation †."

* See the Statutes at Large, 1776, 16 George III. chap. 6.

† From his MS. Inſtructions, dated May 14, 1776.

Pickerſgill,

Pickerſgill, we ſee, was not to attempt the diſcovery of the paſſage. He was directed to explore the coaſts of Baffin's Bay, with a view only to bring back, the ſame year, ſome information, which might be an uſeful direction toward planning an intended voyage into that bay the enſuing ſummer, to try for the diſcovery of a paſſage on that ſide, with a view to co-operate with Captain Cook, who, it was ſuppoſed (from the tenor of his inſtructions) would be trying for this paſſage, about the ſame time, from the oppoſite ſide of America.

Pickerſgill, obeying his inſtructions, at leaſt in this inſtance, did return that year; but there were ſufficient reaſons for not ſending him out again; and the command of the next expedition into Baffin's Bay was conferred on Lieutenant Young; whoſe Inſtructions, having an immediate connection with our voyage, are here inſerted.

EXTRACT of INSTRUCTIONS to Lieutenant YOUNG, commanding the LION armed Veſſel, dated 13th March 1777.

Reſolution. Diſcovery.

WHEREAS, in purſuance of the King's pleaſure, ſignified to us by the Earl of Sandwich, his Majeſty's ſloops named in the margin have been ſent out under the command of Captain Cook, in order, during this and the enſuing year, to attempt a diſcovery of a Northern paſſage, by ſea, from the Pacific to the Atlantic Ocean; and, for that purpoſe, to run up as high as the latitude of 65° North, where it is hoped he will be able to arrive in the month of June next; and there, and as much further to the Northward as in his prudence he ſhall think proper, very carefully to ſearch for and explore ſuch rivers or inlets as may appear to be of a conſiderable extent, and pointing to Hudſon's or Baffin's Bays, or the North Sea; and, upon finding any paſſage

through, ſufficient for the purpoſes of navigation, to attempt ſuch paſſage with one or both of the ſloops; or, if they are judged to be too large, with ſmaller veſſels, the frames of which have been ſent out with him for that purpoſe: And whereas, in purſuance of his Majeſty's further pleaſure, ſignified as aforeſaid, the armed veſſel under your command hath been fitted in order to proceed to Baffin's Bay, with a view to explore the Weſtern parts thereof, and to endeavour to find a paſſage, on that ſide, from the Atlantic to the Pacific Ocean, and we have thought fit to intruſt you with the conduct of that voyage; You are therefore hereby required and directed to put to ſea in the ſaid armed veſſel, without a moment's loſs of time, and make the beſt of your way into Baffin's Bay, and ſo uſe your beſt endeavours to explore the Weſtern ſhores thereof, as far as in your judgment the ſame can be done, without apparent riſque, and to examine ſuch conſiderable rivers or inlets as you may diſcover; and, in caſe you find any, through which there may be a probability of paſſing into the Pacific Ocean, you are to attempt ſuch paſſage; and if you ſucceed in the attempt, and ſhall be able to repaſs it again, ſo as to return to England this year, you are to make the beſt of your way to Spithead, or the Nore, and remain there until you receive further order; ſending us an account of your arrival and proceedings. But if you ſhall ſucceed in the attempt, and ſhall find the ſeaſon too far advanced for you to return the ſame way, you are then to look out for the moſt convenient place to winter in, and to endeavour to return by the ſaid paſſage as early in the next year as the ſeaſon will admit, and then to make the beſt of your way to England, as above directed.

In caſe, however, you ſhould not find, or ſhould be ſatisfied there is not any probability of finding, any ſuch paſſage, or, finding it, you ſhould not be able to get through in the veſſel you command, you are then to return to England, as before mentioned, unleſs you ſhall find any branch of the ſea leading to the Weſtward which you ſhall judge likely to afford a communication between the Atlantic and Pacific Oceans, and which you ſhall not be able to explore in the courſe of this year, it being, in that caſe, left to your diſcretion to ſtay the Winter in the moſt commodious ſituation you can find, in order to purſue the diſcovery-next year, if you ſhall find it adviſable ſo to do; and, having diſcovered ſuch paſſage, or not ſucceeded in the attempt, you are to make the beſt of your way to England, as above directed.

It was natural to hope, that ſomething would have been done in one or other, or in both theſe voyages of the Lion, that might have opened our views with regard to the practicability of a paſſage from this ſide of America. But, unfortunately, the execution did not anſwer the expectations conceived. Pickerſgill, who had acquired profeſſional experience when acting under Captain Cook, juſtly merited the cenſure he received, for improper behaviour when intruſted with command in Davis's Straits; and the talents of Young, as it afterward appeared, were more adapted to contribute to the glory of a victory, as Commander of a line of battle ſhip, than to add to geographical diſcoveries, by encountering mountains of ice, and exploring unknown coaſts *.

Both Pickerſgill and Young having been ordered to proceed into Baffin's Bay; and Captain Cook being directed not to begin his ſearch till he ſhould arrive in the latitude of 65°, it may not be improper to ſay ſomething here of the reaſons which weighed with thoſe who planned the voyages, and framed the inſtructions, to carry their views ſo far Northward, as the proper ſituation, where the paſſage, if it exiſted at all, was likely to be attempted with ſucceſs. It may be aſked, Why was Hudſon's Bay neglected on our ſide of America; and why was not Captain Cook ordered to begin his ſearch on its oppoſite ſide, in much lower lati-

* In the Philoſophical Tranſactions, Vol. lxviii. p. 1057, we have the track of Pickerſgill's voyage, which, probably, may be of uſe to our Greenland ſhips, as it contains many obſervations for fixing the longitude and latitude of the coaſts in Davis's Straits. But it appears that he never entered Baffin's Bay, the higheſt Northern latitude to which he advanced being 68° 14′. As to Young's proceedings, having failed abſolutely in making any diſcovery, it is of leſs conſequence, that no communication of his journal could be procured.

tudes?

tudes? Particularly, why not explore the ſtrait leading into the Weſtern ſea of John de Fuca, between the latitudes of 47° and 48°; the Archipelago of St. Lazarus of Admiral de Fonte, between 50° and 55°; and the rivers and lakes through which he found a paſſage North Eaſtward, till he met with a ſhip from Boſton?

As to the pretended diſcoveries of de Fuca, the Greek Pilot, or of de Fonte, the Spaniſh Admiral, though they have ſometimes found their way into fictitious maps, or have been warmly contended for by the eſpouſers of fanciful ſyſtems; to have directed Captain Cook to ſpend any time in tracing them, would have been as wiſe a meaſure as if he had been directed to trace the ſituation of Lilliput or Brobdignac. The latter are, indeed, confeſſedly, mere objects of imagination; and the former, deſtitute of any ſufficient external evidence, bear ſo many ſtriking marks of internal abſurdity, as warrant our pronouncing them to be the fabric of impoſture. Captain Cook's inſtructions were founded on an accurate knowledge of what had been already done, and of what ſtill remained to do; and this knowledge pointed out the inutility of beginning his ſearch for a paſſage till his arrival in the latitude of 65°; of which every fair and capable inquirer will be abundantly convinced, by an attention to the following particulars.

Middleton, who commanded the expedition in 1741 and 1742, into Hudſon's Bay, had proceeded farther North than any of his predeceſſors in that navigation. But though, from his former acquaintance with that Bay, to which he had frequently ſailed in the ſervice of the company, he had entertained hopes of finding out a paſſage through it into the Pacific Ocean, the obſervations which he was now

enabled to make, induced him to change his opinion; and, on his return to England, he made an unfavourable report. Mr. Dobbs, the patron of the enterprize, did not acquiesce in this; and, fortified in his original idea of the practicability of the passage, by the testimony of some of Middleton's officers, he appealed to the Public, accusing him of having misrepresented facts, and of having, from interested motives, in concert with the Hudson's Bay Company, decided against the practicability of the passage, though the discoveries of his own voyage had put it within his reach.

He had, between the latitude of 65° and 66°, found a very considerable inlet running Westward, into which he entered with his ships; and, "after repeated trials of the tides, and "endeavours to discover the nature and course of the open- "ing, for three weeks successively, he found the flood con- "stantly to come from the Eastward, and that it was a large "river he had got into," to which he gave the name of Wager River *.

The accuracy, or rather the fidelity of this report was denied by Mr. Dobbs, who contended that this opening *is a Strait, and not a fresh water river*, and that Middleton, if he had examined it properly, would have found a passage through it to the Western American Ocean. The failure of this voyage, therefore, only served to furnish our zealous advocate for the discovery, with new arguments for attempting it once more; and he had the good fortune, after getting the reward of twenty thousand pounds established by act of parliament, to prevail upon a society of gentlemen and merchants to fit out the Dobbs and California;

* See the Abstract of his Journal, published by Mr. Dobbs.

which

which ſhips, it was hoped, would be able to find their way into the Pacific Ocean, by the very opening which Middleton's voyage had pointed out, and which he was believed to have miſrepreſented.

This renovation of hope only produced freſh diſappointment. For it is well known, that the voyage of the Dobbs and California, inſtead of confuting, ſtrongly confirmed all that Middleton had aſſerted. The ſuppoſed Strait was found to be nothing more than a freſh water river, and its utmoſt Weſtern navigable boundaries were now aſcertained, by accurate examination. But though Wager's Strait had thus diſappointed our hopes, as had alſo done Rankin's Inlet, which was now found to be a cloſe Bay; and though other arguments, founded on the ſuppoſed courſe of the tides in Hudſon's Bay, appeared to be groundleſs; ſuch is our attachment to an opinion once adopted, that, even after the unſucceſsful iſſue of the voyage of the Dobbs and California, a paſſage through ſome other place in that Bay was, by many, conſidered as attainable; and, particularly, Cheſterfield's (formerly called Bowden's) Inlet, lying between latitude 63° and 64°, ſucceeded Wager's Strait, in the ſanguine expectations of thoſe who remained unconvinced by former diſappointments. Mr. Ellis, who was on board the ſhips, and who wrote the hiſtory of the voyage, holds up this as one of the places where the paſſage may be ſought for, *upon very rational grounds, and with very good effects* *. He alſo mentions Repulſe Bay, nearly in latitude 67°; but as to this he ſpeaks leſs confidently; only ſaying, that by an attempt there, we might probably *approach nearer to the diſcovery* †. He had good reaſon for thus guarding his expreſſion; for

* Ellis's Voyage, p. 328.

† Ibid. p. 330.

the committee, who directed this voyage, admitting the impracticability of effecting a paſſage at Repulſe Bay, had refuſed allowing the ſhips to go into it, *being ſatisfied as to that place* *.

Setting Repulſe Bay, therefore, aſide, within which we have no reaſon for believing that any inlet exiſts, there remained no part of Hudſon's Bay to be ſearched, but Cheſterfield's Inlet, and a ſmall track of coaſt between the latitude 62°, and what is called the South Point of Main, which had been left unexplored by the Dobbs and California.

But this laſt gleam of hope has now diſappeared. The averſion of the Hudſon's Bay Company, to contribute any thing to the diſcovery of a North Weſt paſſage, had been loudly reported by Mr. Dobbs; and the Public ſeemed to believe that the charge was well founded. But ſtill, in juſtice to them, it muſt be allowed, that, in 1720, they had ſent Meſſrs. Knight and Barlow, in a ſloop on this very diſcovery; but theſe unfortunate people were never more heard of. Mr. Scroggs, who ſailed in ſearch of them, in 1722, only brought back proofs of their ſhipwreck, but no freſh intelligence about a paſſage, which he was alſo to look for. They alſo ſent a ſloop, and a ſhallop, to try for this diſcovery, in 1737; but to no purpoſe. If obſtructions were thrown in the way of Captain Middleton, and of the Commanders of the Dobbs and California, the Governor and Committee of the Hudſon's Bay Company, ſince that time, we muſt acknowledge, have made amends for the narrow

* Account of the Voyage, by the Clerk of the California, Vol. ii. p. 273. Mr. Dobbs himſelf ſays, That *he thought the paſſage would be impracticable, or, at leaſt, very difficult, in caſe there was one farther North than* 67°.

Account of Hudſon's Bay, p. 99.

prejudices

prejudices of their predeceſſors; and we have it in our power to appeal to facts, which abundantly teſtify, that every thing has been done by them, that could be required by the Public, toward perfecting the ſearch for a North Weſt paſſage.

In the year 1761, Captain Chriſtopher ſailed from Fort Churchill, in the ſloop Churchill; and his voyage was not quite fruitleſs; for he ſailed up Cheſterfield's Inlet, through which a paſſage had, by Mr. Ellis's account of it, been ſo generally expected. But when the water turned brackiſh, which marked that he was not in a ſtrait, but in a river, he returned.

To leave no room for a variety of opinion, however, he was ordered to repeat the voyage the enſuing ſummer, in the ſame ſloop, and Mr. Norton, in a cutter, was appointed to attend him. By the favour of the Governor and Committee of the Company, the Journals of Captain Chriſtopher, and of Mr. Norton, and Captain Chriſtopher's chart of the Inlet, have been readily communicated. From theſe authentic documents, it appears that the ſearch and examination of Cheſterfield's Inlet was now completed. It was found to end in a freſh water lake, at the diſtance of about one hundred and ſeventy miles from the ſea. This lake was found alſo to be about twenty-one leagues long, and from five to ten broad, and to be completely cloſed up on every ſide, except to the Weſt, where there was a little rivulet; to ſurvey the ſtate of which, Mr. Norton and the crew of the cutter having landed, and marched up the country, ſaw that it ſoon terminated in three falls, one above another, and not water for a ſmall boat over them; and ridges, moſtly dry from ſide to ſide, for five or ſix miles higher.

Thus

Thus ends Chefterfield's Inlet, and all Mr. Ellis's expectations of a paſſage through it to the Weſtern Ocean. The other part of the coaſt, from latitude 62°, to the South Point of Main, within which limits hopes were alſo entertained of finding a paſſage, have, of late years, been thoroughly explored. It is here that Piſtol Bay is ſituated; which the author who has writ laſt in this country, on the *probability of a North Weſt paſſage**, ſpeaks of as the only remaining part of Hudſon's Bay where this Weſtern communication may exiſt. But this has been alſo examined; and, on the authority of Captain Chriſtopher, we can aſſure the Reader, that there is no inlet of any conſequence in all that part of the coaſt. Nay, he has, in an open boat, ſailed round the bottom of what is called Piſtol Bay, and, inſtead of a paſſage to a Weſtern Sea, found it does not run above three or four miles inland.

Beſides theſe voyages by ſea, which ſatisfy us that we muſt not look for a paſſage to the South of 67° of latitude; we are indebted to the Hudſon's Bay Company, for a journey by land, which has thrown much additional light on this matter, by affording what may be called demonſtration, how much farther North, at leaſt in ſome part of their voyage, ſhips muſt hold their courſe, before they can paſs from one ſide of America to the other. The Northern Indians, who come down to the Company's forts for trade, had brought to the knowledge of our people, the exiſtence of a river; which, from copper abounding near it, had got the name of the *Copper-mine River*. We read much about

* Printed for Jeffreys, in 1768. His words are, "There remains then to be "ſearched for the diſcovery of a paſſage, the opening called Piſtol Bay, in Hudſon's "Bay." P. 122.

this

this river in Mr. Dobbs's publications, and he conſiders the Indian accounts of it as favourable to his ſyſtem. The Company being deſirous of examining the matter with preciſion, ordered their Governor of Prince of Wales's Fort, to ſend a proper perſon to travel by land, under the eſcort of ſome truſty Northern Indians, with orders to proceed to this famous river, to take an accurate ſurvey of its courſe, and to trace it to the ſea, into which it empties itſelf. Mr. Hearne, a young gentleman in their ſervice, who, having been an officer in the Navy, was well qualified to make obſervations for fixing the longitude and latitude, and make drawings of the country he ſhould paſs through, and of the river which he was to examine, was appointed for this ſervice.

Accordingly, he ſet out from Fort Prince of Wales, on Churchill River, in latitude 58° 50′, on the 7th of December 1770; and the whole of his proceedings, from time to time, are faithfully preſerved in his written Journal. The publication of this would not be an unacceptable preſent to the world, as it draws a plain artleſs picture of the ſavage modes of life, the ſcanty means of ſubſiſtence, and indeed of the ſingular wretchedneſs, in every reſpect, of the various tribes, who, without fixed habitations, paſs their miſerable lives, roving throughout the dreary deſerts, and over the frozen lakes of the immenſe track of continent through which Mr. Hearne paſſed, and which he may be ſaid to have added to the geography of the globe. His general courſe was to the North Weſt. In the month of June 1771, being then at a place called *Conge catha wha Chaga,* he had, to uſe his own words, *two good obſervations, both by meridian and double altitudes, the mean of which determines this place to be in latitude* 68° 46′ *North, and, by account, in longitude* 24° 2′

Weſt of Churchill River. On the 13th of July (having left *Conge catha wha Chaga* on the 2d, and travelling ſtill to the Weſt of North) he reached the Copper-mine River; and was not a little ſurprized to find it differ ſo much from the deſcriptions given of it by the natives at the fort; for, inſtead of being likely to be navigable for a ſhip, it is, at this part, ſcarcely navigable for an indian canoe; three falls being in ſight, at one view, and being choaked up with ſhoals and ſtony ridges.

Here Mr. Hearne began his ſurvey of the river. This he continued till he arrived at its mouth, near which his Northern Indians maſſacred twenty-one Eſquimaux, whom they ſurprized in their tents. We ſhall give Mr. Hearne's account of his arrival at the ſea, in his own words. "After "the Indians had plundered the tents of the Eſquimaux of "all the copper, &c. they were then again ready to aſſiſt "me in making an end to the ſurvey; the ſea then in ſight "from the North Weſt by Weſt to the North Eaſt, diſtant "about eight miles. It was then about five in the morning of "the 17th, when I again proceeded to ſurvey the river to "the mouth, ſtill found, in every reſpect, no ways likely, "or a poſſibility of being made navigable, being full of "ſhoals and falls; and, at the entrance, the river emptying "itſelf over a dry flat of the ſhore. For the tide was then "out, and ſeemed, by the edges of the ice, to flow about "twelve or fourteen feet, which will only reach a little "within the river's mouth. That being the caſe, the wa-"ter in the river had not the leaſt brackiſh taſte. But I am "ſure of its being the ſea, or ſome part thereof, by the "quantity of whale-bone and ſeal ſkins the Eſquimaux had "at their tents; as alſo the number of ſeals which I ſaw "upon the ice. The ſea, at the river's mouth, was full

" of iſlands and ſhoals, as far as I could ſee, by the aſſiſt-
" ance of a pocket teleſcope; and the ice was not yet broken
" up, only thawed away about three quarters of a mile
" from the ſhore, and a little way round the iſlands and
" ſhoals.

" By the time I had completed this ſurvey, it was about
" one in the morning of the 18th; but in theſe high la-
" titudes, and this time of the year, the ſun is always a
" good height above the horizon. It then came on a thick
" drizzling rain, with a thick fog; and, as finding the river
" and ſea, in every reſpect, not likely to be of any utility,
" I did not think it worth while to wait for fair weather, to
" determine the latitude exactly by an obſervation. But, by
" the extraordinary care I took in obſerving the courſes and
" diſtances, walked from *Congecathawhachaaga*, where I had
" two good obſervations, the latitude may be depended on,
" within twenty miles at fartheſt."

From the map which Mr. Hearne conſtructed of the country through which he paſſed, in this ſingular journey, and which we have been permitted to copy upon our general chart, it appears that the mouth of the copper-mine river lies in the latitude 72°, and above 25° Weſt longitude from the fort, from whence he took his departure *.

The conſequences reſulting from this extenſive diſcovery, are obvious. We now ſee that the continent of North America ſtretches from Hudſon's Bay ſo far to the North Weſt,

* Mr. Hearne's journey, back from the copper-mine river, to Fort Prince of Wales, laſted till June 30, 1772. From his firſt ſetting out till his return, he had employed near a year and ſeven months. The unparalleled hardſhips he ſuffered, and the eſſential ſervice he performed, met with a ſuitable reward from his maſters, and he is now the Governor of Fort Prince of Wales, where he was taken priſoner by the French in 1782; and laſt ſummer returned to his ſtation.

that Mr. Hearne had travelled near thirteen hundred miles before he arrived at the ſea. His moſt Weſtern diſtance from the coaſt of Hudſon's Bay was near ſix hundred miles *; and that his Indian guides were well apprized of a vaſt tract of continent ſtretching farther on in that direction, is certain from many circumſtances mentioned in his journal; one of which, as beſides eſtabliſhing this fact, it preſents us with a very ſtriking picture of ſavage life, has been tranſcribed in the following note †.

What

* The Hudſon's Bay company have a trading poſt called *Hudſon's Houſe*, above five hundred miles up the country, in lat. 53° 0′ 32″, and in long. 106° 27′ 30″.

† This day, Jan. 11, 1772, as the Indians were hunting, ſome of them ſaw a ſtrange ſnow-ſhoe track, which they followed, and at a conſiderable diſtance came to a little hut, where they found a young woman ſitting alone. They brought her to the tents; and, on examining her, found that ſhe was one of the Weſtern *Dog-ribbed* Indians, and had been taken priſoner by the *Arathapeſcow* Indians in the ſummer 1770; and when the Indians, who took her priſoner, were near this part in the ſummer 1771, ſhe eloped from them, with an intent to return to her own country; but *it being ſo far off*, and, after being taken priſoner, having come the whole way in canoes, with the winding of rivers and lakes, ſhe had forgot the way; and had been in this little hut ever ſince the firſt ſetting in of the fall. By her account of the moons paſt, ſince her elopement, it appears to be the middle of laſt July when ſhe left the Arathapeſcow Indians, and had not ſeen a human face ever ſince. She ſupported herſelf very well by ſnaring of rabbits, partridges, and ſquirrels, and was now in good health and fleſh; and, I think, as fine a woman of a real Indian, as I have ſeen in any part of North America. She had nothing to make ſnares of but the ſinews of rabbits legs and feet, which ſhe twiſted together for that purpoſe; and of the rabbits ſkins had made herſelf a neat and warm winter's clothing. The ſtock of materials ſhe took with her when ſhe eloped, conſiſted of about five inches of an iron hoop for a knife; a ſtone ſteel, and other hard ſtones as flints, together with other fire tackle, as tinder, &c.; about an inch and half of the ſhank of the ſhoeing of an arrow, of iron, of which ſhe made an awl. She had not been long at the tents, when half a ſcore of men wreſtled to ſee who ſhould have her for their wife. She ſays, when the Arathapeſcow Indians took her priſoner, that they ſtole on the tents in the night, when the inhabitants were all aſleep, and killed every ſoul except herſelf and three other young women. Her father, mother, and huſband were in the ſame tent with her, and they were all killed. Her child, of about five months old, ſhe took with her, wrapped in a bundle of her cloathing, undiſcovered, in the night. But when arrived at the place where the Arathapeſcows had left their wives, which was not far off, it being then day-break, theſe

What is now, for the firſt time, authentically laid before the Public, with regard to the diſcoveries made by the Hudſon's Bay Company, was well known to the noble Lord who preſided at the board of Admiralty, when this voyage was undertaken; and the intimate connection of thoſe diſcoveries with the Plan of the Voyage, of courſe, regulated the inſtructions given to Captain Cook.

And now, may we not take it upon us to appeal to every candid and capable inquirer, whether that part of the inſtructions which directed the Captain *not to loſe time, in exploring rivers, or inlets, or upon any other account, till he got into the latitude* of 65°, was not framed judiciouſly; as there were ſuch indubitable proofs that no paſſage exiſted ſo far to the South as any part of Hudſon's Bay, and that, if a paſſage could be effected at all, part of it, at leaſt, muſt be traverſed by the ſhips as far to the Northward as the latitude 72°, where Mr. Hearne arrived at the ſea?

We may add as a farther conſideration, in ſupport of this article of the Inſtructions, that Beering's Aſiatic diſcoveries, in 1728, having traced that continent to the latitude of 67°, Captain Cook's approach toward that latitude was to be wiſhed for, that he might be enabled to bring back more

Indian women immediately began to examine her bundle; and having there found the child, took it from her and killed it immediately. The relation of this ſhocking ſcene only ſerved the ſavages of my gang for laughter. *Her country is ſo far to the Weſtward*, that ſhe ſays ſhe never ſaw any iron, or other kind of metal, till taken priſoner; thoſe of her tribe making their hatchets and chiſels of deers horns, and knives of ſtone and bone; their arrows are ſhod with a kind of ſlate, bones, and deers horns; and their inſtruments, to make their wood work, are nothing but beavers teeth. They have frequently heard of the uſeful materials the nations to the Eaſt of them are ſupplied with from the Engliſh; but, inſtead of drawing nearer to be in the way of trading for iron work, &c. are obliged to retreat farther back, to avoid the Arathapeſcow Indians, as they make ſurpriſing ſlaughter amongſt them every year, both winter and ſummer. HEARNE's MS. Journal.

authentic information than the world had hitherto obtained, about the relative ſituation and vicinity of the two continents, which was abſolutely neceſſary to be known, before the practicability of ſailing between the Pacific and Atlantic Oceans, in any Northern direction, could be aſcertained.

After all, that ſearch, in a lower latitude, which they who give credit (if any ſuch there now be) to the pretended diſcoveries of de Fonte, affect to wiſh had been recommended to Captain Cook, has (if that will cure them of their credulity) been ſatisfactorily made. The Spaniards, rouſed from their lethargy by our voyages, and having caught a ſpark of enterprize from our repeated viſits to the Pacific Ocean, have followed us more than once into the line of our diſcoveries within the Southern tropic; and have alſo fitted out expeditions to explore the American continent to the North of California. It is to be lamented, that there ſhould be any reaſons why the tranſactions of theſe Spaniſh voyages have not been fully diſcloſed, with the ſame liberal ſpirit of information which other nations have adopted. But, fortunately, this exceſſive caution of the court of Spain has been defeated, at leaſt in one inſtance, by the publication of an authentic Journal of their laſt voyage of diſcovery upon the coaſt of America, in 1775, for which the world is indebted to the Honourable Mr. Daines Barrington. This publication, which conveys ſome Information of real conſequence to geography, and has therefore been referred to more than once in the following work, is particularly valuable in this reſpect, that ſome parts of the coaſt which Captain Cook, in his progreſs Northward, was prevented, by unfavourable winds, from approaching, were ſeen and examined by the Spaniſh ſhips who preceded him; and the peruſal of the following extract from their Journal, may

may be recommended to thoſe (if any ſuch there be) who would repreſent it as an imperfection in Captain Cook's voyage, that he had not an opportunity of examining the coaſt of America, in the latitude aſſigned to the diſcoveries of Admiral Fonte. "We now attempted to find out the "ſtraits of Admiral Fonte, though, as yet, we had not diſ-"covered the Archipelago of St. Lazarus, through which he "is ſaid to have ſailed. With this intent, we ſearched every "bay and receſs of the coaſt, and ſailed round every head-"land, lying to in the night, that we might not loſe ſight "of this entrance. *After theſe pains taken, and being favoured "by a North Weſt wind, it may be pronounced that no ſuch ſtraits "are to be found* *."

In this Journal, the Spaniards boaſt of "having reached "ſo high a latitude as 58°, beyond what any other naviga-"tors had been able to effect in thoſe ſeas †." Without diminiſhing the merit of their performance, we may be permitted to ſay that it will appear very inconſiderable, indeed, in compariſon of what Captain Cook effected, in the voyage of which an account is given in theſe volumes. Beſides exploring the land in the South Indian Ocean, of which Kerguelen, in two voyages, had been able to obtain but a very imperfect knowledge; adding alſo many conſiderable acceſſions to the geography of the Friendly Iſlands; and diſcovering the noble group, now called Sandwich Iſlands, in the Northern part of the Pacific Ocean, of which not the fainteſt trace can be met with in the account of any former voyage; beſides theſe preliminary diſcoveries, the Reader of the following work will find, that in

* Journal of a voyage in 1775 by Don Franciſco Antonio Maurelle, in Mr. Barrington's Miſcellanies, p. 508.

† *Ibid.* p. 507. We learn from Maurelle's Journal that another voyage had been ſome time before performed upon the coaſt of America; but the utmoſt Northern progreſs of it was to latitude 55°.

one

one ſummer, our Engliſh Navigator diſcovered a much larger proportion of the North Weſt coaſt of America than the Spaniards, though ſettled in the neighbourhood, had, in all their attempts, for above two hundred years, been able to do; That he has put it beyond all doubt that Beering and Tſcherikoff had really diſcovered the continent of America in 1741, and has alſo eſtabliſhed the prolongation of that continent Weſtward oppoſite Kamtſchatka, which ſpeculative writers, wedded to favourite ſyſtems, had affected ſo much to diſbelieve *, and which, though admitted by Muller, had, ſince he wrote, been conſidered as diſproved by later Ruſſian diſcoveries †; That, beſides aſcertaining the true poſition of the Weſtern coaſts of America, with ſome inconſiderable interruptions, from latitude 44° up to beyond the latitude 70°, he has alſo aſcertained the poſition of the North Eaſtern extremity of Aſia, by confirming Beering's diſcoveries in 1728, and adding extenſive acceſſions of his own; That he has given us more authentic information concerning the iſlands lying between the two continents, than the Kamtſchatka traders, ever ſince Beering firſt taught them to venture on this ſea, had been able to procure ‡; That, by fixing the relative

* Dr. Campbell, ſpeaking of Beering's voyage in 1741, ſays, "Nothing can be "plainer than this truth, that his diſcovery does not warrant any ſuch ſuppoſition, as "that the country he touched at was a great continent making part of North America."

† See Coxe's Ruſſian Diſcoveries, p. 26, 27, &c. The fictions of ſpeculative geographers in the Southern hemiſphere, have been continents; in the Northern hemiſphere, they have been ſeas. It may be obſerved, therefore, that if Captain Cook in his firſt voyages annihilated imaginary Southern lands, he has made amends for the havock, in his third voyage, by annihilating imaginary Northern ſeas, and filling up the vaſt ſpace, which had been allotted to them, with the ſolid contents of his new diſcoveries of American land farther Weſt and North than had hitherto been traced.

‡ The Ruſſians ſeem to owe much to England, in matters of this ſort. It is ſingular enough that one of our countrymen, Dr. Campbell [See his edition of Harris's voyages,

lative ſituation of Aſia and America, and diſcovering the narrow bounds of the ſtrait that divides them, he has thrown a blaze of light upon this important part of the geography of the globe, and ſolved the puzzling problem about the peopling of America, by tribes deſtitute of the neceſſary means to attempt long navigations; and, laſtly, That, though the principal object of the voyage failed, the world will be greatly benefited even by the failure, as it has brought us to the knowledge of the exiſtence of the impediments, which future navigators may expect to meet with in attempting to go to the Eaſt Indies through Beering's ſtrait.

The extended review we have taken of the preceding voyages, and the general outline we have ſketched out, of the tranſactions of the laſt, which are recorded at full length in theſe volumes, will not, it is hoped, be conſidered as a prolix, or unneceſſary detail. It will ſerve to give a juſt notion of the whole plan of diſcovery executed by his Majeſty's commands. And it appearing that much was aimed at, and much accompliſhed, in the unknown parts of the globe, in both hemiſpheres, there needs no other conſideration, to give full ſatisfaction to thoſe who poſſeſs an enlarged way of thinking, that a variety of uſeful purpoſes muſt have been effected by theſe reſearches. But

voyages, Vol. ii. p. 1021.] has preſerved many valuable particulars of Beering's firſt voyage, of which Muller himſelf, the Hiſtorian of their earlier diſcoveries, makes no mention; that it ſhould be another of our countrymen, Mr. Coxe, who firſt publiſhed a ſatisfactory account of their later diſcoveries; and that the King of Great Britain's ſhips ſhould traverſe the globe in 1778, to confirm to the Ruſſian empire, the poſſeſſion of near thirty degrees, or above ſix hundred miles of continent, which Mr. Engel, in his zeal for the practicability of a North Eaſt paſſage, would prune away from the length of Aſia to the Eaſtward. See his *Mémoires Geographiques*, &c. Lauſanne 1765; which, however, contains much real information; and many parts of which are confirmed by Captain Cook's American diſcoveries.

there

there are others, no doubt, who, too diffident of their own abilities, or too indolent to exert them, would wiſh to have their reflections aſſiſted, by pointing out what thoſe uſeful purpoſes are. For the uſe of ſuch, the following enumeration of particulars is entered upon. And if there ſhould be any, who affect to undervalue the plan, or the execution of our voyages, what ſhall now be offered, if it do not convince them, may, at leaſt, check the influence of their unfavourable deciſion.

1. It may be fairly conſidered, as one great advantage accruing to the world from our late ſurveys of the globe, that they have confuted fanciful theories, too likely to give birth to impracticable undertakings.

After Captain Cook's perſevering and fruitleſs traverſes through every corner of the Southern hemiſphere, who, for the future, will pay any attention to the ingenious reveries of Campbell, de Broſſes, and de Buffon? or hope to eſtabliſh an intercourſe with ſuch a continent as Maupertuis's fruitful imagination had pictured? A continent equal, at leaſt, in extent, to all the civilized countries in the known Northern hemiſphere, where new men, new animals, new productions of every kind, might be brought forward to our view, and diſcoveries be made, which would open inexhauſtible treaſures of commerce *. We can now boldly take it upon us to diſcourage all expeditions, formed on ſuch reaſonings of ſpeculative philoſophers, into a quarter of the globe,

* See Maupertuis's Letter to the King of Pruſſia. The author of the Preliminary Diſcourſe to Bougainville's *Voyage aux Iſles Malouines*, computes that the Southern continent (for the exiſtence of which, he owns, we muſt depend more on the conjectures of philoſophers, than on the teſtimony of voyagers) contains eight or ten millions of ſquare leagues.

where our perſevering Engliſh navigator, inſtead of this promiſed fairy land, found nothing but barren rocks, ſcarcely affording ſhelter to penguins and ſeals; and dreary ſeas, and mountains of ice, occupying the immenſe ſpace allotted to imaginary paradiſes, and the only treaſures there to be diſcovered, to reward the toil, and to compenſate the dangers of the unavailing ſearch.

Or, if we carry our reflections into the Northern hemiſphere, could Mr. Dobbs have made a ſingle convert, much leſs could he have been the ſucceſsful ſolicitor of two different expeditions, and have met with encouragement from the legiſlature, with regard to his favourite paſſage through Hudſon's Bay, if Captain Chriſtopher had previouſly explored its coaſts, and if Mr. Hearne had walked over the immenſe continent behind it? Whether, after Captain Cook's and Captain Clerke's diſcoveries on the Weſt ſide of America, and their report of the ſtate of Beering's Strait, there can be ſufficient encouragement to make future attempts to penetrate into the Pacific Ocean in any Northern direction, is a queſtion, for the deciſion of which the Public will be indebted to this work.

2. But our voyages will benefit the world, not only by diſcouraging future unprofitable ſearches, but alſo by leſſening the dangers and diſtreſſes formerly experienced in thoſe ſeas, which are within the line of commerce and navigation, now actually ſubſiſting. In how many inſtances have the miſtakes of former navigators, in fixing the true ſituations of important places, been rectified? What acceſſion to the variation chart? How many nautical obſervations have been collected, and are now ready to be conſulted, in directing a ſhip's courſe, along rocky ſhores, through nar-

row ſtraits, amidſt perplexing currents, and dangerous ſhoals? But, above all, what numbers of new bays, and harbours, and anchoring-places, are now, for the firſt time, brought forward, where ſhips may be ſheltered, and their crews find tolerable refreſhments? To enumerate all theſe would be to tranſcribe great part of the journals of our ſeveral Commanders, whoſe labours will endear them to every navigator, whom trade or war may carry into their tracks. Every nation that ſends a ſhip to ſea, will partake of the benefit; but Great Britain herſelf, whoſe commerce is boundleſs, muſt take the lead in reaping the full advantage of her own diſcoveries.

In conſequence of all theſe various improvements, leſſening the apprehenſions of engaging in long voyages, may we not reaſonably indulge the pleaſing hope, that freſh branches of commerce may, even in our own time, be attempted, and ſucceſsfully carried on? Our hardy adventurers in the whale-fiſhery, have already found their way, within theſe few years, into the South Atlantic; and who knows what freſh ſources of commerce may ſtill be opened, if the proſpect of gain can be added, to keep alive the ſpirit of enterprize? If the ſituation of Great Britain be too remote, other trading nations will aſſuredly avail themſelves of our diſcoveries. We may ſoon expect to hear that the Ruſſians, now inſtructed by us where to find the American continent, have extended their voyages from the Fox Iſlands to Cook's River, and Prince William's Sound. And if Spain itſelf ſhould not be tempted to trade from its moſt Northern Mexican ports, by the freſh mine of wealth diſcovered in the furs of King George's Sound, which they may tranſport in their Manilla ſhips, as a favourite commodity for the

Chineſe market; that market may probably be ſupplied by a direct trade to America, from Canton itſelf, with thoſe valuable articles which the inhabitants of China have hitherto received, only by the tedious and expenſive circuit of Kamtſchatka and Kiachta.

Theſe and many other commercial improvements may reaſonably be expected to reſult from the Britiſh diſcoveries, even in our own times. But if we look forward to future ages, and to future changes in the hiſtory of commerce, by recollecting its various paſt revolutions and migrations, we may be allowed to pleaſe ourſelves with the idea of its finding its way, at laſt, throughout the extent of the regions with which our voyages have opened an intercourſe; and there will be abundant reaſon to ſubſcribe to Captain Cook's obſervation with regard to New Zealand, which may be applied to other tracks of land explored by him, that "although they be far remote from the preſent trading "world, we can, by no means, tell what uſe future ages "may make of the diſcoveries made by the preſent *." In this point of view, ſurely, the utility of the late voyages muſt ſtand confeſſed; and we may be permitted to ſay, that the hiſtory of their operations, which will be completed in theſe volumes, has the juſteſt pretenſions to be called κτῆμα ἐς ἀεὶ, as it will convey to lateſt poſterity a treaſure of intereſting information.

3. Admitting, however, that we may have expreſſed too ſanguine expectations of commercial advantages, either within our own reach, or gradually to be unfolded at ſome future period, as the reſult of our voyages of diſcovery; we

* Cook's Voyage, Vol. i. p. 92.

may ſtill be allowed to conſider them as a laudable effort to add to the ſtock of human knowledge, with regard to an object which cannot but deſerve the attention of enlightened man. To exert our faculties in deviſing ingenious modes of ſatisfying ourſelves about the magnitude and diſtance of the ſun; to extend our acquaintance with the ſyſtem to which that luminary is the common centre, by tracing the revolutions of a new planet, or the appearance of a new comet; to carry our bold reſearches through all the immenſity of ſpace, where world beyond world riſes to the view of the aſtoniſhed obſerver; theſe are employments which none but thoſe incapable of purſuing them can depreciate, and which every one capable of purſuing them muſt delight in, as a dignified exerciſe of the powers of the human mind. But while we direct our ſtudies to diſtant worlds, which, after all our exertions, we muſt content ourſelves with having barely diſcovered to exiſt, it would be a ſtrange neglect, indeed, and would argue a moſt culpable want of rational curioſity, if we did not uſe our beſt endeavours to arrive at a full acquaintance with the contents of our own planet; of that little ſpot in the immenſe univerſe, on which we have been placed, and the utmoſt limits of which, at leaſt its habitable parts, we poſſeſs the means of aſcertaining, and deſcribing, by actual examination.

So naturally doth this reflection preſent itſelf, that to know ſomething of the terraqueous globe, is a favourite object with every one who can taſte the loweſt rudiments of learning. Let us not therefore think ſo meanly of the times in which we live, as to ſuppoſe it poſſible that full juſtice will not be done to the noble plan of diſcovery, ſo ſteadily and ſo ſucceſsfully carried on, ſince the acceſſion of his Majeſty; which

which cannot fail to be conſidered, in every ſucceeding age, as a ſplendid period in the hiſtory of our country, and to add to our national glory, by diſtinguiſhing Great Britain as taking the lead in the moſt arduous undertakings for the common benefit of the human race. Before theſe voyages took place, nearly half the ſurface of the globe we inhabit was hid in obſcurity and confuſion. What is ſtill wanting to complete our geography, may juſtly be termed the *minutiæ* of that ſcience.

4. Let us now carry our thoughts ſomewhat farther. It is fortunate for the intereſts of knowledge, that acquiſitions in any one branch generally, and indeed unavoidably, lead to acquiſitions in other branches, perhaps of ſtill greater conſequence; and that we cannot even gratify mere curioſity, without being rewarded with valuable inſtruction. This obſervation applies to the ſubject before us. Voyages, in which new oceans have been traverſed, and in which new countries have been viſited, can ſcarcely ever be performed, without bringing forward to our view freſh objects of ſcience. Even when we are to take our report of what was diſcovered, from the mere ſailor, whoſe knowledge ſcarcely goes beyond the narrow limits of his own profeſſion, and whoſe inquiries are not directed by philoſophical diſcernment, it will be unfortunate indeed, if ſomething hath not been remarked, by which the ſcholar may profit, and uſeful acceſſions be made to our old ſtock of information. And if this be the caſe in general; how much more muſt be gained by the particular voyages now under conſideration? Beſides naval officers equally ſkilled to examine the coaſts they might approach, as to delineate them accurately upon

their charts, artiſts* were engaged, who, by their drawings might illuſtrate what could only be imperfectly deſcribed; mathematicians†, who might treaſure up an extenſive ſeries of ſcientific obſervations; and perſons verſed in the various departments of the hiſtory of nature, who might collect, or record, all that they ſhould find new and valuable, throughout the wide extent of their reſearches. But while moſt of theſe aſſociates of our naval diſcoverers, were liberally rewarded by the Public, there was one gentleman, who thinking it the nobleſt reward he could receive, to have an opportunity of making the ample fortune he inherited from his anceſtors, ſubſervient to the improvement of ſcience, ſtepped forward of his own accord, and ſubmitting to the hardſhips and dangers of a circumnavigation of the globe, accompanied Captain Cook in the Endeavour. The learned world, I may alſo ſay the unlearned, will never forget the obligations which it owes to Sir Joſeph Banks.

What real acquiſitions have been gained, by this munificent attention to ſcience, cannot be better expreſſed than in the words of Mr. Wales, who engaged in one of theſe voyages himſelf, and contributed largely to the benefits derived from them.

" That branch of natural knowledge which may be " called *nautical aſtronomy*, was undoubtedly in its infancy,

* Meſſ. Hodges and Webber, whoſe drawings have ornamented and illuſtrated this and Captain Cook's ſecond voyage.

† Mr. Green, in the Endeavour; Meſſrs. Wales and Bayly, in the Reſolution and Adventure; Mr. Bayly, a ſecond time, jointly with Captains Cook and King in this voyage; and Mr. Lyons, who accompanied Lord Mulgrave. The obſervations of Meſſrs. Wales and Bayly, during Captain Cook's ſecond voyage, are already in the hands of the Public, by the favour of the Board of Longitude; and thoſe of Captains Cook and King, and Mr. Bayly, during this laſt, will appear immediately after our Publication.

" when

" when theſe voyages were firſt undertaken. Both inſtru-
" ments and obſervers, which deſerved the name, were very
" rare; and ſo late as the year 1770, it was found neceſſary,
" in the appendix to *Meyer's Tables*, publiſhed by the Board
" of Longitude, to ſtate facts, in contradiction to the aſſer-
" tions of ſo celebrated an aſtronomer as the Abbé de la
" Caille, that the altitude of the ſun at noon, the eaſieſt and
" moſt ſimple of all obſervations, could not be taken with
" certainty to a leſs quantity than five, ſix, ſeven, or even
" eight minutes *. But thoſe who will give themſelves the
" trouble to look into the *aſtronomical obſervations*, made in
" Captain Cook's laſt voyage, will find, that there were few,
" even of the petty officers, who could not obſerve the
" diſtance of the moon from the ſun, or a ſtar, the moſt de-
" licate of all obſervations, with ſufficient accuracy. It
" may be added, that the method of making and computing
" obſervations for finding the variation of the compaſs, is
" better known, and more frequently practiſed by thoſe
" who have been on theſe voyages, than by moſt others.
" Nor is there, perhaps, a perſon who ranks as an officer,

* The Abbé's words are, " Si ceux qui promettent une ſi grande preciſion dans
" ces ſortes de methodes, avoient navigué quelque temps, ils auroient vû ſouvent, que
" dans l'obſervation la plus ſimple de toutes, qui eſt celle de la hauteur du ſoleil à
" midi, deux obſervations, munis de bons quartiers de reflexion, bien rectifiés, dif-
" ferent entr'eux, lorſqu'ils obſervent chacun à part, de 5′, 6′, 7′, & 8′."

Ephémer. 1755—1765. *Introduction*, p. 32.

It muſt be, however, mentioned, in juſtice to M. de la Caille, that he attempted to introduce the lunar method of diſcovering the longitude, and propoſed a plan of calculations of the moon's diſtance from the ſun and fixed ſtars; but through the imperfection of his inſtruments, his ſucceſs was much leſs than that method was capable of affording. The bringing it into general uſe was reſerved for Dr. Maſkelyne, our Aſtronomer Royal. See the preface to the *Tables for correcting the Effects of Refraction and Parallax*, publiſhed by the Board of Longitude, under the Direction of Dr. Shepherd, Plumian Profeſſor of Aſtronomy and Experimental Philoſophy at Cambridge, in 1772.

" and

" and has been concerned in them, who would not, what-
" ever his real ſkill may be, feel aſhamed to have it thought
" that he did not know how to obſerve for, and compute
" the time at ſea; though, but a ſhort while before theſe
" voyages were ſet on foot, ſuch a thing was ſcarcely ever
" heard of amongſt ſeamen; and even firſt-rate aſtro-
" nomers doubted the poſſibility of doing it with ſufficient
" exactneſs*.

" The number of places, at which the riſe and times of
" flowing of tides have been obſerved, in theſe voyages, is
" very great; and hence an important article of uſeful
" knowledge is afforded. In theſe obſervations, ſome very
" curious and even unexpected circumſtances have offered

* In addition to Mr. Wales's Remark, it may be obſerved, that the proficiency of our naval officers in taking obſervations at ſea, muſt ultimately be attributed to the great attention paid to this important object by the Board of Longitude at home; liberal rewards having been given to mathematicians for perfecting the lunar tables, and facilitating calculations; to artiſts for conſtructing more accurate inſtruments for obſerving, and watches better adapted to keeping time at ſea. It appears, therefore, that the voyages of diſcovery, and the operations of the board of longitude went hand in hand; and they muſt be combined, in order to form a juſt eſtimate of the extent of the plan carried into execution ſince his Majeſty's acceſſion, for improving aſtronomy and navigation. But, beſides the eſtabliſhment of the Board of Longitude on its preſent footing, which has had ſuch important conſequences, it muſt alſo be ever acknowledged, that his preſent Majeſty has extended his royal patronage to every branch of the liberal arts and uſeful ſcience. The munificent preſent to the Royal Society for defraying the expence of obſerving the *tranſit* of Venus; — the inſtitution of the Academy of Painting and Sculpture; — the magnificent apartments allotted to the Royal and Antiquary Societies, and to the Royal Academy, at Somerſet Place; — the ſupport of the Garden of Exotics at Kew, to improve which, Mr. Maſon was ſent to the extremities of Africa; — the *ſubſtantial* encouragement afforded to learned men and learned works, in various departments; and particularly, that afforded to Mr. Herſchell, which has enabled him to devote himſelf intirely to the improvement of aſtronomy; theſe, and many other inſtances which might be enumerated, would have greatly diſtinguiſhed his Majeſty's reign, even if he had not been the patron of thoſe ſucceſsful attempts to perfect geography and navigation by ſo many voyages of diſcovery.

" them-

" themſelves to our conſideration. It will be ſufficient to " inſtance the exceedingly ſmall height to which the tide " riſes, in the middle of the great Pacific Ocean; where it " falls ſhort, two-thirds at leaſt, of what might have been " expected from theory and calculation.

" The direction and force of currents at ſea, make alſo " an important object. Theſe voyages will be found to " contain much uſeful information on this head; as well " relating to ſeas nearer home, and which, in conſequence, " are navigated every day, as to thoſe which are more re- " mote, but where, notwithſtanding, the knowledge of theſe " things may be of great ſervice to thoſe who are deſtined " to navigate them hereafter. To this head alſo we may refer " the great number of experiments which have been made " for inquiring into the depth of the ſea, its temperature, " and ſaltneſs at different depths, and in a variety of places " and climates.

" An extenſive foundation has alſo been laid for improve- " ments in magnetiſm, for diſcovering the cauſe and nature " of the polarity of the needle, and a theory of its varia- " tions, by the number and variety of the obſervations and " experiments which have been made, both on the variation " and dip, in almoſt all parts of the world. Experiments alſo " have been made, in conſequence of the late voyages, on " the effects of gravity, in different and very diſtant places, " which may ſerve to increaſe our ſtock of natural know- " ledge. From the ſame ſource of information we have " learned, that the phænomenon, uſually called the *aurora* " *borealis*, is not peculiar to high Northern latitudes, but be- " longs, equally, to all cold climates, whether they be North " or South.

" But, perhaps, no part of knowledge has been ſo great " a gainer by the late voyages, as that of botany. We " are told * that, at leaſt, twelve hundred new plants have " been added to the known ſyſtem; and that very con- " ſiderable additions have been made to every other branch " of natural hiſtory, by the great ſkill and induſtry of Sir " Joſeph Banks, and the other gentlemen † who have accom- " panied Captain Cook for that purpoſe."

To our naval officers in general, or to their learned aſſociates in the expeditions, all the foregoing improvements of knowledge may be traced; but there is one very ſingular improvement indeed, ſtill behind, for which, as we are ſolely indebted to Captain Cook, let us ſtate it in his own words: " Whatever may be the public judgment about other mat- " ters, it is with real ſatisfaction, and without claiming any " merit but that of attention to my duty, that I can con- " clude this account with an obſervation, which facts en- " able me to make, that our having diſcovered the poſſibi- " lity of preſerving health amongſt a numerous ſhip's com- " pany, for ſuch a length of time, in ſuch varieties of cli- " mate, and amidſt ſuch continued hardſhips and fatigues, " will make this voyage remarkable, in the opinion of " every benevolent perſon, when the diſputes about a South- " ern continent ſhall have ceaſed to engage the attention, " and to divide the judgment of philoſophers ‡."

* See Dr. Shepherd's Preface, as above.

† Dr. Solander, Dr. Forſter and his ſon, and Dr. Sparman. Dr. Forſter has given us a ſpecimen of the botanical diſcoveries of his voyage in the *Characteres Generum Plantarum*, &c. and much curious philoſophical matter is contained in his *Obſervations made in a Voyage round the World.* Dr. Sparman alſo, on his return to Sweden, favoured us with a publication, in which he expatiates on the advantages accruing to natural hiſtory, to aſtronomy, geography, general phyſics, and navigation, from our South Sea voyages.

‡ Cook's Voyage, Vol. ii. p. 293.

5. But

5. But while our late voyages have opened ſo many channels to an increaſe of knowledge in the ſeveral articles already enumerated; while they have extended our acquaintance with the contents of the globe; while they have facilitated old tracks, and have opened new ones for commerce; while they have been the means of improving the ſkill of the navigator, and the ſcience of the aſtronomer; while they have procured to us ſo valuable acceſſions in the ſeveral departments of natural hiſtory, and furniſhed ſuch opportunities of teaching us how to preſerve the healths and lives of ſeamen, let us not forget another very important object of ſtudy, for which they have afforded to the ſpeculative philoſopher ample materials: I mean the ſtudy of human nature in various ſituations, equally intereſting as they are uncommon.

However remote or ſecluded from frequent intercourſe with more poliſhed nations, the inhabitants of any parts of the world be, if hiſtory or our own obſervation ſhould make it evident that they have been formerly viſited, and that foreign manners and opinions, and languages, have been blended with their own, little uſe can be made of what is obſerved amongſt ſuch people, toward drawing a real picture of man in his natural uncultivated ſtate. This ſeems to be the ſituation of the inhabitants of moſt of the iſlands that lie contiguous to the continent of Aſia, and of whoſe manners and inſtitutions the Europeans, who occaſionally viſit them, have frequently given us accounts. But the iſlands which our enterpriſing diſcoverers viſited in the centre of the South Pacific Ocean, and are, indeed, the principal ſcenes of their operations, were untrodden ground. The inhabitants, as far as could be obſerved, were unmixed with any different tribe, by occaſional intercourſe, ſubſequent to their

original ſettlement there; left intirely to their own powers for every art of life; and to their own remote traditions for every political or religious cuſtom or inſtitution; uninformed by ſcience; unimproved by education; in ſhort, a fit ſoil from whence a careful obſerver could collect facts for forming a judgment, how far unaſſiſted human nature will be apt to degenerate; and in what reſpects it can ever be able to excel. Who could have thought, that the brutal ferocity of feeding upon human fleſh, and the horrid ſuperſtition of offering human ſacrifices, ſhould be found to exiſt amongſt the natives lately diſcovered in the Pacific Ocean, who, in other reſpects, appear to be no ſtrangers to the fine feelings of humanity, to have arrived at a certain ſtage of ſocial life, and to be habituated to ſubordination and government which tend ſo naturally to repreſs the ebullitions of wild paſſion, and expand the latent powers of the underſtanding?

Or, if we turn from this melancholy picture, which will ſuggeſt copious matter for philoſophical ſpeculation, can we, without aſtoniſhment, obſerve to what a degree of perfection the ſame tribe (and indeed we may here join, in ſome of thoſe inſtances, the American tribes viſited in the courſe of the preſent voyage) have carried their favourite amuſements, the plaintive ſongs of their women, their dramatic entertainments, their dances, their Olympian games, as we may call them; the orations of their Chiefs; the chants of their prieſts; the ſolemnity of their religious proceſſions; their arts and manufactures; their ingenious contrivances to ſupply the want of proper materials, and of effective tools and machines; and the wonderful productions of their perſevering labour under a complication of diſadvantages; their cloth and their mats; their weapons; their fiſh-

ing-

ing-inſtruments; their ornaments; their utenſils; which in deſign and in execution, may vie with whatever modern Europe, or claſſical antiquity can exhibit?

It is a favourite ſtudy with the ſcholar to trace the remains of Grecian or Roman workmanſhip; he turns over his Montfaucon with learned ſatisfaction; and he gazes with rapture on the noble collection of Sir William Hamilton. The amuſement is rational and inſtructive. But will not his curioſity be more awakened, will he not find even more real matter for important reflection, by paſſing an hour in ſurveying the numerous ſpecimens of the ingenuity our newly diſcovered friends brought from the utmoſt receſſes of the globe, to enrich the Britiſh Muſeum, and the valuable repoſitory of Sir Aſhton Lever? If the curioſities of Sir Aſhton's Sandwich-room alone, were the only acquiſition gained by our viſits to the Pacific Ocean, who that has taſte to admire, or even eyes to behold, could heſitate to pronounce, that Captain Cook had not failed in vain? The expence of his three voyages did not, perhaps, far exceed that of digging out the buried contents of Herculaneum. And we may add, that the *novelties* of the Society or Sandwich iſlands, ſeem better calculated to engage the attention of the ſtudious in our times, than the *antiquities*, which exhibit proofs of Roman magnificence.

The grounds for making this remark cannot be better explained, than in the words of a very ingenious writer. "In an age (ſays Mr. Warton *), advanced to the higheſt "degree of refinement, that ſpecies of curioſity com-"mences, which is buſied in contemplating the progreſs of "ſocial life, in diſplaying the gradation of ſociety, and in

* Preface to his Hiſtory of Engliſh Poetry.

" tracing the gradations from barbariſm to civility. That theſe " ſpeculations ſhould become the favourite topics of ſuch a " period is extremely natural. We look back on the ſavage " condition of our anceſtors with the triumph of ſuperiority ; " and are pleaſed to mark the ſteps by which we have been " raiſed from rudeneſs to elegance ; and our reflections on " this ſubject are accompanied with a conſcious pride, " ariſing, in a great meaſure, from a tacit compariſon of " the infinite diſproportion between the feeble efforts of " remote ages, and our preſent improvements in know- " ledge. In the mean time, the manners, monuments, " cuſtoms, practices, and opinions of antiquity, by forming " ſo ſtrong a contraſt with thoſe of our own times, and " by exhibiting human nature and human inventions in " new lights, in unexpected appearances, and in various " forms, are objects which forcibly ſtrike a feeling imagi- " nation. Nor does this ſpectacle afford nothing more than " a fruitleſs gratification to the fancy. It teaches us to ſet " a juſt eſtimation on our own acquiſitions, and encourages " us to cheriſh that cultivation, which is ſo cloſely connected " with the exiſtence and the exerciſe of every ſocial virtue." We need not here obſerve, that the *manners*, *monuments*, *cuſtoms*, *practices*, *and opinions* of the preſent inhabitants of the Pacific Ocean, or of the Weſt ſide of North America, form *the ſtrongeſt contraſt* with thoſe of our own time in enlightened Europe ; and that *a feeling imagination* will probably be more ſtruck with the narration of the ceremonies of a *Natche* at Tongataboo, than of a Gothic tournament at London ; with the contemplation of the coloſſuſes of Eaſter Iſland, than of the myſterious remains of Stonehenge.

Many ſingularities, reſpecting what may be called the natural hiſtory of the human ſpecies, in different climates, will,

will, on the authority of our late navigators, open abundant ſources for philoſophical diſcuſſion. One queſtion of this ſort, in particular, which had formerly divided the opinions of the inquiſitive, as to the exiſtence, if not of "giants on the earth," at leaſt of a race (inhabiting a diſtrict bordering on the North ſide of the ſtrait of Magalhaens), whoſe ſtature conſiderably exceeds that of the bulk of mankind, will no longer be doubted or diſbelieved. And the ingenious objections of the ſceptical author of *Recherches ſur les Américains* *, will weigh nothing in the balance againſt the concurrent and accurate teſtimony of Byron, Wallis, and Carteret.

Perhaps there cannot be a more intereſting inquiry than to trace the migrations of the various families or tribes that have peopled the globe; and in no reſpect have our late voyages been more fertile in curious diſcoveries. It was known in general (and I ſhall uſe the words of Kæmpfer †), that the Aſiatic nation called Malayans, "in former times, "had by much the greateſt trade in the Indies, and fre- "quented with their merchant ſhips, not only all the coaſts "of Aſia, but ventured even over to the coaſts of Africa, "particularly to the great iſland of Madagaſcar ‡. The title

* Tom. i. p. 331.

† Hiſtory of Japan, Vol. i. p. 93.

‡ That the Malayans have not only frequented Madagaſcar, but have alſo been the progenitors of ſome of the preſent race of inhabitants there, is confirmed to us by the teſtimony of Monſieur de Pages, who viſited that iſland ſo late as 1774. "Ils "m'ont paru provenir des diverſes Races; leur couleur, leurs cheveux, et leur corps "l'indiquent. Ceux que je n'ai pas cru originaires des anciens naturels du pays, ſont "petits et trapus; ils ont les cheveux preſque unis, et ſont *olivâtres comme les Ma-* "*layes, avec qui ils ont, en général, une eſpece de reſemblance.*"

Voyages des M. des Pages, T. ii. p. 90.

"which

" which the king of the Malayans aſſumed to himſelf, of " *Lord of the Winds and Seas to the Eaſt and to the Weſt*, is an evi- " dent proof of this; but much more the Malayan language, " which ſpread moſt all over the Eaſt, much after the ſame " manner as formerly the Latin, and of late the French, did " all over Europe." Thus far, I ſay, was known. But that from Madagaſcar to the Marqueſes and Eaſter Iſland, that is, nearly from the Eaſt ſide of Africa, till we approach toward the Weſt ſide of America, a ſpace including above half the circumference of the globe, the ſame tribe or nation, the Phœnicians, as we may call them, of the Oriental world, ſhould have made their ſettlements, and founded colonies throughout almoſt every intermediate ſtage of this immenſe tract, in iſlands at amazing diſtances from the mother continent, and ignorant of each others exiſtence; this is an hiſtorical fact, which could be but very imperfectly known before Captain Cook's two firſt voyages diſcovered ſo many new inhabited ſpots of land lurking in the boſom of the South Pacific Ocean; and it is a fact which does not reſt ſolely on ſimilarity of cuſtoms and inſtitutions, but has been eſtabliſhed by the moſt ſatisfactory of all proofs, that drawn from affinity of language. Mr. Marſden, who ſeems to have conſidered this curious ſubject with much attention, ſays, that *the links of the latitudinal chain remain yet to be traced* *. The diſcovery of the Sandwich Iſlands in

* Archæolog. Vol. vi. p. 155. See alſo his Hiſtory of Sumatra, p. 166. from which the following paſſage is tranſcribed. " Beſides the Malaye, there are a va- " riety of languages ſpoken on Sumatra, which, however, have not only a manifeſt " affinity among themſelves, but alſo to that general language which is found to " prevail in, and to be indigenous to, all the iſlands of the Eaſtern ſeas; from Ma- " dagaſcar to the remoteſt of Captain Cook's diſcoveries, comprehending a wider " extent than the Roman or any other tongue has yet boaſted. In different places, " it has been more or leſs mixed and corrupted; but between the moſt diſſimilar " branches,

in this laſt voyage, has added ſome links to the chain. But Captain Cook had not an opportunity of carrying his reſearches into the more Weſterly parts of the North Pacific. The Reader, therefore, of the following work will not, perhaps, think that the Editor was idly employed when he ſubjoined ſome notes, which contain abundant proof that the inhabitants of the Ladrones, or Marianne iſlands, and thoſe of the Carolines, are to be traced to the ſame common ſource, with thoſe of the iſlands viſited by our ſhips. With the like view, of exhibiting a ſtriking picture of the amazing extent of this Oriental language, which marks, if not a common original, at leaſt an intimate intercourſe between the inhabitants of places ſo very remote from each other, he has inſerted a comparative table of their numerals, upon a more enlarged plan than any that has hitherto been executed*.

Our Britiſh diſcoverers have not only thrown a blaze of light on the migrations of the tribe which has ſo wonderfully ſpread itſelf throughout the iſlands in the Eaſtern Ocean; but they have alſo favoured us with much curious information concerning another of the families of the earth, whoſe lot has fallen in leſs hoſpitable climates. We ſpeak of the Eſquimaux, hitherto only found ſeated on the coaſts of Labradore and Hudſon's Bay, and who differ in ſeveral

" branches, an eminent ſameneſs of many radical words is apparent; and in ſome " very diſtant from each other, in point of ſituation: As, for inſtance, the Philip- " pines and Madagaſcar, the deviation of the words is ſcarcely more than is obſerved " in the dialects of neighbouring provinces of the ſame kingdom."

* We are indebted to Sir Joſeph Banks, for a general out-line of this, in Hawkeſworth's Collection, Vol. iii. p. 777. The Reader will find our enlarged Table at the end of the third volume, Appendix, No. 2.

characteriſtic marks from the inland inhabitants of North America. That the Greenlanders and they agree in every circumſtance of cuſtoms, and manners, and language, which are demonſtrations of an original identity of nation, had been diſcovered about twenty years ago *. Mr. Hearne, in 1772, traced this unhappy race farther back, toward that part of the globe from whence they had originally coaſted along in their ſkin boats, having met with ſome of them at the mouth of the Coppermine River, in the latitude of 72°, and near five hundred leagues farther Weſt than Pickerſgill's moſt Weſterly ſtation in Davis's Strait. Their being the ſame tribe who now actually inhabit the iſlands and coaſts on the Weſt ſide of North America, oppoſite Kamtſchatka, was a diſcovery, the completion of which was reſerved for Captain Cook. The Reader of the following work will find them at Norton Sound; and at Oonalaſhka, and Prince William's Sound; that is, near 1500 leagues diſtant from their ſtations in Greenland, and on the Labradore coaſt. And leſt ſimilitude of manners ſhould be thought to deceive us, a table exhibiting proofs of affinity of language, which was drawn up by Captain Cook, and is inſerted in this work †, will remove every doubt from the mind of the moſt ſcrupulous inquirer after truth.

There are other doubts of a more important kind, which, it may be hoped, will now no longer perplex the ignorant,

* See Crantz's Hiſtory of Greenland, Vol. i. p. 262; where we are told that the Moravian Brethren, who, with the conſent and furtherance of Sir Hugh Palliſer, then Governor of Newfoundland, viſited the Eſquimaux on the Labradore coaſt, found that their language, and that of the Greenlanders, do not differ ſo much as that of the High and Low Dutch.

† See Appendix, No. 6. The Greenlanders, as Crantz tells us, call themſelves *Karalit*; a word not very unlike *Kanagyſt*, the name, aſſumed by the inhabitants of Kodiack, one of the Schumagin iſlands, as Stæhlin informs us.

or

or furniſh matter of cavil to the ill-intentioned. After the great diſcovery, or at leaſt the full confirmation of the great diſcovery, of the vicinity of the two continents of Aſia and America, we truſt that we ſhall not be any more ridiculed, for believing that the former could eaſily furniſh its inhabitants to the latter. And thus, to all the various good purpoſes already enumerated, as anſwered by our late voyages, we may add this laſt, though not the leaſt important, that they have done ſervice to religion, by robbing infidelity of a favourite objection to the credibility of the Moſaic account of *the peopling of the earth* *.

6. Hitherto we have conſidered our voyages as having benefited the *diſcoverers*. But it will be aſked, Have they conveyed, or are they likely ever to convey, any benefit to the *diſcovered?* It would afford exquiſite ſatisfaction to every benevolent mind, to be inſtructed in facts, which might enable us, without heſitation, to anſwer this queſtion in the affirmative. And yet, perhaps, we may indulge the pleaſing hope, that, even in this reſpect, our ſhips have not failed in vain. Other diſcoveries of new countries have, in effect, been wars, or rather maſſacres; nations have been no ſooner found out, than they have been extirpated; and the horrid cruelties of the conquerors of Mexico and Peru

* A contempt of Revelation is generally the reſult of ignorance, conceited of its poſſeſſing ſuperior knowledge. Obſerve how the Author of *Recherches Philoſophiques ſur les Américains*, expreſſes himſelf on this very point. "Cette diſtance que "Mr. Antermony veut trouver ſi peu importante, eſt à-peu-près *de huit cent lieues* "*Gauloiſes au travers d'un ocean perilleux*, et impoſſible à franchir avec des canots "auſſi chetifs et auſſi fragiles que le ſont, au rapport d'Yſbrand Ides, les chaloupes "des Tunguſes," &c. &c. T. i. p. 156. Had this writer known that the two continents are not above *thirteen* leagues (inſtead of *eight hundred*) diſtant from each other, and that, even in that narrow ſpace of ſea, there are intervening iſlands, he would not have ventured to urge this argument in oppoſition to Mr. Bell's notion of the quarter from which North America received its original inhabitants.

can never be remembered, without bluſhing for religion and human nature. But when the receſſes of the globe are inveſtigated, not to enlarge private dominion, but to promote general knowledge; when we viſit new tribes of our fellow-creatures as friends; and wiſh only to learn that they exiſt, in order to bring them within the pale of the offices of humanity, and to relieve the wants of their imperfect ſtate of ſociety, by communicating to them our ſuperior attainments; voyages of diſcovery planned with ſuch benevolent views by George the Third, and executed by Cook, have not, we truſt, totally failed in this reſpect. Our repeated viſits, and long continued intercourſe with the natives of the Friendly, Society, and Sandwich Iſlands, cannot but have darted ſome rays of light on the infant minds of thoſe poor people. The uncommon objects they have thus had opportunities of obſerving and admiring, will naturally tend to enlarge their ſtock of ideas, and to furniſh new materials for the exerciſe of their reaſon. Comparing themſelves with their viſiters, they cannot but be ſtruck with the deepeſt conviction of their own inferiority, and be impelled, by the ſtrongeſt motives, to ſtrive to emerge from it, and to riſe nearer to a level with thoſe children of the Sun who deigned to look upon them, and left behind ſo many ſpecimens of their generous and humane attention. The very introduction of our uſeful animals and vegetables, by adding freſh means of ſubſiſtence, will have added to their comforts of life, and immediate enjoyments; and if this be the only benefit they are ever to receive, who will pronounce that much has not been gained? But may we not carry our wiſhes and our hopes ſtill farther? Great Britain itſelf, when firſt viſited by the Phœnicians, was inhabited by painted Savages, not, perhaps, bleſſed with higher attainments

ments than are poſſeſſed by the preſent natives of New Zealand; certainly leſs civilized than thoſe of Tongataboo or Otaheite. Our having opened an intercourſe with them, is the firſt ſtep toward their improvement. Who knows, but that our late voyages may be the means appointed by Providence, of ſpreading, in due time, the bleſſings of civilization, amongſt the numerous tribes of the South Pacific Ocean; of aboliſhing their horrid repaſts and their horrid rites; and of laying the foundation for future and more effectual plans, to prepare them for holding an honourable ſtation amongſt the nations of the earth? This, at leaſt, is certain, that our having, as it were, brought them into exiſtence by our extenſive reſearches, will ſuggeſt to us freſh motives of devout gratitude to the Supreme Being, for having bleſſed us with advantages hitherto withheld from ſo great a proportion of the human race; and will operate powerfully to incite us to perſevere in every feaſible attempt, to be his inſtruments in reſcuing millions of fellow-creatures from their preſent ſtate of humiliation.

The ſeveral topics, which occurred, as ſuitable to this general Introduction, being now diſcuſſed, nothing remains but to ſtate a few particulars, about which the reader of theſe volumes has a right to expect ſome information.

Captain Cook, knowing, before he ſailed upon this laſt expedition, that it was expected from him to *relate*, as well as to *execute*, its operations, had taken care to prepare ſuch a journal as might be made uſe of for publication. This journal, which exiſts in his own hand-writing, has been faithfully adhered to. It is not a bare extract from his log-books, but contains many remarks which, it appears, had not been inſerted by him in the nautical regiſter; and it is

alſo enriched with conſiderable communications from Mr. Anderſon, Surgeon of the Reſolution. The confeſſed abilities, and great aſſiduity, of Mr. Anderſon, in obſerving every thing that related either to natural hiſtory, or to manners and language; and the deſire which, it is well known, Captain Cook, on all occaſions, ſhewed to have the aſſiſtance of that gentleman, ſtamped a great value on his collections. That nothing, therefore, might be wanting to convey to the Public the beſt poſſible account of the tranſactions of the Voyage, his journal, by the order of Lord Sandwich, was alſo put into the hands of the Editor, who was authorized and directed to avail himſelf of the information it might be found to contain, about matters imperfectly touched, or altogether omitted, in Captain Cook's manuſcript. This taſk has been executed in ſuch a manner, that the reader will ſcarcely ever be at a loſs to diſtinguiſh in what inſtances recourſe has been had to Mr. Anderſon. To preclude, if poſſible, any miſtake, the copy of the firſt and ſecond volumes, before it went to the printer, was ſubmitted to Captain King; and after it had been read over and corrected by one ſo well qualified to point out any inaccuracies, the Earl of Sandwich had the goodneſs to give it a peruſal. As to the third volume, nothing more need be ſaid, than that it was completely prepared for the preſs by Captain King himſelf. All that the Editor of the work has to anſwer for, are the notes occaſionally introduced in the courſe of the two volumes, contributed by Captain Cook; and this introduction, which was intended as a kind of epilogue to our Voyages of diſcovery. He muſt be permitted, however, to ſay, that he conſiders himſelf as intitled to no inconſiderable ſhare of candid indulgence from the Public; having engaged in a very tedious and trouble-

ſome undertaking upon the moſt *diſintereſted* motives; his only reward being the ſatisfaction he feels, in having been able to do an eſſential ſervice to the family of our great navigator, who had honoured him, in the journal of this voyage, with the appellation of Friend.

They who have repeatedly aſked why this publication has been ſo long delayed, need only look at the volumes, and their attendant illuſtrations and ornaments, to be ſatisfied that it might, with at leaſt equal reaſon, be wondered at, that it has not been delayed longer. The Journal of Captain Cook, from the firſt moment that it came into the hands of the Editor, had been ready for the Preſs; and Captain King had left with him his part of the narrative, ſo long ago as his departure for the Weſt Indies, when he commanded the Reſiſtance man of war. But much, beſides, remained to be done. The charts, particularly the general one, were to be prepared by Mr. Roberts, who gives an account of his work in the note *; the very numerous and elegant drawings of Mr.

* Soon after our departure from England, I was inſtructed by Captain Cook to complete a map of the world as a general chart, from the beſt materials he was in poſſeſſion of for that purpoſe; and before his death this buſineſs was in a great meaſure accompliſhed: That is, the grand outline of the whole was arranged, leaving only thoſe parts vacant or unfiniſhed, which he expected to fall in with and explore. But on our return home, when the fruits of our voyage were ordered by the Lords Commiſſioners of the Admiralty to be publiſhed, the care of the general chart being conſigned to me, I was directed to prepare it from the lateſt and beſt authorities; and alſo to introduce Captain Cook's three ſucceſſive tracks, that all his diſcoveries, and the different routes he had taken might appear together; by this means to give a general idea of the whole. This taſk having been performed by me, it is neceſſary, for the information of the Reader, to ſtate the heads of the ſeveral authorities which I have followed in ſuch parts of the chart as differ from what was drawn up immediately under the inſpection of Captain Cook: And when the Public are made acquainted, that many materials, neceſſary to complete and elucidate the work, were not, at the time, on board the Reſolution, or in his poſſeſſion, the reaſon will appear

Mr. Webber were to be reduced by him to the proper ſize; artiſts were next to be found out who would undertake to engrave

pear very obvious, why theſe alterations and additions were introduced contrary to the original drawing.

Firſt then, I have followed cloſely the very excellent and correct charts of the Northern Atlantic Ocean, publiſhed by Meſſrs. de Verdun de la Crenne, de Borda, et Pingré in 1775 and 1776; which compriſe the coaſt of Norway from the Sud Hoek, in the latitude of 62 degrees North, to Trelleburg, Denmark, the coaſt of Holland, North coaſt of Great Britain, Orkneys, Shetland, Ferro Iſles, Iceland, coaſts of France, Spain, and Portugal, to Cape St. Maria on the coaſt of Africa; including the Azores, Canaries, Cape de Verd, Antilles, and Weſt India iſlands from Barbadoes to the Eaſt end of Cuba; the North part of Newfoundland and the Labradore coaſt, as far as the latitude of 57° degrees North.

Ireland, and part of the coaſt of Scotland, is laid down from Mr. Mackenzie's late ſurveys; and the ſouth coaſt of England from a chart publiſhed by Mr. Faden in 1780, taken from Mr. l'Abbé Dicquemare.

The North part of the coaſt of Labradore, from the latitude of 57° North, to Button's Iſlands in the entrance of Hudſon's Strait, is taken from Monſieur Bellin's chart, as is alſo the North coaſt of Norway and Lapland, including the White Sea, Gulf of Bothnia, Baltic Sea, and the Eaſt coaſt of Greenland.

The Gulf of Finland, from a large (MS) chart, now engraving for the uſe of ſome private merchants.

The Weſt India iſlands, from the Eaſt end of Cuba to the Weſt end, including Jamaica and the Bahama iſlands, are from a chart publiſhed in London by Sayer and Bennett, in 1779.

The South ſide of Cuba from Point Gorda to Cape de Cruz, is laid down from Monſieur Bellin, in 1762.

The coaſts of Newfoundland, and the Gulf of St. Laurence, from the ſurveys made by Captain Cook, and Meſſrs. Gilbert and Lane.

Nova Scotia, Cape Breton, Iſland of St. John, River St. Laurence, Canada, and New England to the River Delaware, from J. F. W. des Barres, Eſq; in 1777 and 1778; and charts publiſhed in France by order of the King, in 1780, intituled, Neptune Americo-Septrentrional, &c. And from theſe charts alſo are taken the coaſts of Penſylvania, New Jerſey, Maryland, Virginia, North and South Carolina, Georgia, Eaſt and Weſt Florida, as well as the interior parts of the country to the Eaſt ſide of Lake Ontario.

The other parts of this lake, as likewiſe Lakes Eria, Hurons, Michigan, and Superior, were copied from Mr. Green's maps of America: The Northern part of this laſt mentioned lake is fixed from the aſtronomical obſervations made by order of the Hudſon's Bay Company, at Miſhippicotton Houſe.

The

engrave them; the prior engagements of thoſe artiſts were to be fulfilled before they could begin; the labour and ſkill to

The whole of Hudſon's Bay I took from a chart, compiled by Mr. Marley, from all the moſt authentic maps he could procure of thoſe parts with which I was favoured by Samuel Wegg, Eſq; F. R. S. and Governor of that Company, who alſo politely furniſhed me with Mr. Hearne's Journals, and the map of his route to the Coppermine River, which is faithfully inſerted on the chart, together with the ſurvey of Cheſterfield Inlet made by Captain Chriſtopher and Mr. Moſes Norton, in 1762; and the diſcoveries from York Fort to Cumberland, and Hudſon Houſes (this laſt is the moſt Weſtern ſettlement belonging to the Company), extending to Lake Winipeg, from the drafts of Mr. Philip Turnor, made in 1778 and 1779, corrected by aſtronomical obſervations. And from this lake, the diſpoſition of the other lakes to the Southward of it, and which communicate with it, is formed, and laid down from a map conſtructed by Mr. Spurrel, in the Company's ſervice. The Albany and Mooſe rivers to Glouceſter Houſe, and to Lake Abbitibbe and Superior, are alſo drawn from a map of Mr. Turnor's, adjuſted by obſervations for the longitudes.

The Weſt coaſt of Greenland, as chiefly laid down from the obſervations made by Lieut. R. Pickerſgill in the Lion brig in 1776, which determine the line of the coaſt only, as the immenſe quantities of ice choak up every bay and inlet on this coaſt, which formerly were, in the ſummer ſeaſon, quite free and open.

From the mouth of the Miſſiſippi River, including its ſource, and the other rivers branching from it; all the coaſt of New Leon to Cape Rozo, and the Weſtern coaſt of America, from Cape Corrienties to the Great Bay of Tecoantepec, is taken from Monſieur D'Anville.

The Gulf of California I have laid down from a German publication in 1773, put into my hands by Sir Joſeph Banks, Bart. P. R. S.; and the Weſtern ſide of it is brought together from a Spaniſh MS. chart with which A. Dalrymple, Eſq; F. R. S. obliged me.

The coaſt of Brazil from Sera to Cape Frio, is copied from a ſmall chart of that part by Mr. Dalrymple.

For the Southern part of Africa, from the Cape of Good Hope to Point Natal, I have taken the authority of the chart of Major J. Rennels, F. R. S. ſhewing the extent of the bank of Lagullus.

For the exiſtence of the ſmall iſlands, ſhoals, and banks to the Eaſtward of Madagaſcar, together with the Archipelago of the Maldive and Laccidive Iſlands; for the coaſts of Mallacca, part of Cambodia, and the Iſland Sumatra, I have uſed the lateſt authority of Monſieur D'Après de Mannevillette's publications in the Neptune Oriental.

The coaſts of Guzerat, Malabar, Coromandel, and the oppoſite ſhore, containing the Great Bay of Bengal, and the Iſland of Ceylon, and exhibiting the Heads of

to be exerted in finiſhing many of them, rendered this a tedious operation; paper fit for printing them upon was to be procured from abroad; and after all theſe various and unavoidable difficulties were ſurmounted, much time was neceſſarily required for executing a numerous impreſſion of the long liſt of plates, with ſo much care as might do juſtice both to Mr. Webber, and to his ſeveral engravers. When all theſe circumſtances are taken into conſideration, we truſt that we ſhall hear no more of the delay; and only be grate-

the Ganges, and Barampooter or Sanpoo Rivers, are inſerted from the work of the ingenious Author of the map of Hindooſtan, publiſhed in 1782.

The China ſea is laid down from the chart publiſhed by Mr. Dalrymple; but the longitudes of Pula Sapata, Pulo Condore, Pulo Timoan, Straits of Banca and Sunda, and the parts we ſaw are as ſettled by us, together with the Eaſt coaſt of Niphon, the principal of the Japeneſe Iſlands.

The Jeſo and Kurile iſlands, the Eaſt coaſt of Aſia and Kamtſchatka, as well as the ſea of Okotſk, and the iſlands lying between Kamtſchatka and America that were not ſeen in the voyage, are taken from a Ruſſian MS. chart, got by us at the Iſland of Oonalaſhka.

The Northern countries from Cape Kanin, near the White Sea, as far Eaſt as the River Lena, I have given from the Great Ruſſian Map, publiſhed at Peterſburg in 1776, including the Euxine, Caſpian, and Aral Seas, as alſo the principal lakes to the Eaſtward; the intent of which is to ſhew the ſource of the large rivers that empty themſelves into the different oceans and ſeas.

Every other part of the chart not mentioned in this account, is as originally placed by Captain Cook.

The whole has been corrected from the lateſt aſtronomical obſervations, ſelected from the Tables compiled by Mr. William Wales, F. R. S. and mathematical maſter of Chriſt's Hoſpital, for the Nautical Almanacs: From thoſe in the Mariner's Guide by the Rev. Dr. Maſkelyne, F. R. S. and Aſtronomer Royal, publiſhed in 1763; From the Connoiſſance des Temps for 1780 and 1781; From Profeſſor Mayer's Geographical Table; From the Voyages of Meſſrs. d'Eveux de Fleurieu, Verdun, de Borda, and Chabet, &c.; From the Table lately publiſhed by Mr. Dalrymple for the uſe of the Eaſt India ſhips; From the Philoſophical Tranſactions of the Royal Society; and from the Obſervations of our late Navigators.

HENY. ROBERTS.

SHOREHAM, SUSSEX, May 18, 1784.

ful to that munificent Patron of Science, who not only directed the hiſtory of the voyage to be publiſhed; but to be publiſhed with ſuch a ſplendid train of ornaments, at the public expence, as will ſtill add to the merit of having ordered the voyage itſelf to be undertaken.

And here it ſeems to be incumbent upon us to add, as another inſtance of munificent attention, that care has been taken to mark, in the moſt ſignificant manner, the juſt ſenſe entertained of the humane and liberal relief afforded to our ſhips in Kamtſchatka. Colonel Behm, the commandant of that province, has not been rewarded merely by the pleaſure which a benevolent mind feels in reflecting upon the bleſſings it confers; but has been thanked in a manner equally conſiſtent with the dignity of his own ſovereign and of ours, to whoſe ſubjects he extended protection. A magnificent piece of plate was preſented to him, with an inſcription, worthy of a place in the ſame book where the hiſtory of his humanity to our countrymen is recorded, and which, while it does honour to our national gratitude, deſerves alſo to be preſerved as a monument of our national taſte for elegant compoſition. It is as follows:

VIRO EGREGIO MAGNO DE BEHM; *qui, Imperatricis Auguſtiſſimæ Catherinæ auſpiciis, ſummâque animi benignitate, ſæva, quibus præerat, Kamtſchatkæ littora, navibus nautiſque Britannicis, hoſpita præbuit; eoſque, in terminis, ſi qui eſſent Imperio Ruſſico, fruſtrà explorandis, mala multa perpeſſos, iteratâ vice excepit, refecit, recreavit, et commeatû omni cumulatè auctos dimiſit*; REI NAVALIS BRITANNICÆ SEPTEMVIRI *in aliquam benevolentiæ tam inſignis memoriam, amiciſſimo, gratiſſimoque animo, ſuo, patriæque nomine*, D. D. D.

MDCCLXXXI.

This public teſtimony of gratitude, reminds the Editor, that there are ſimilar calls upon himſelf. He owes much to Captain King for his advice and direction, in a variety of inſtances, where Captain Cook's Journal required explanation; for filling up ſeveral blanks with the proper longitude and latitude; and for ſupplying deficiencies in the tables of aſtronomical obſervations.

Lieutenant Roberts was alſo frequently conſulted, and was always found to be a ready and effectual aſſiſtant, when any nautical difficulties were to be cleared up.

But particular obligations are due to Mr. Wales, who, beſides the valuable communications which have been adopted in this Introduction, ſeconded moſt liberally the Editor's views of ſerving Mrs. Cook, by cheerfully taking upon himſelf the whole trouble of digeſting, from the log books, the tables of the route of the ſhips, which add ſo greatly to the intrinſic merit of this publication.

Mr. Wegg, beſides ſharing in the thanks ſo juſtly due to the committee of the Hudſon's Bay Company, for their unreſerved communications, was particularly obliging to the Editor, by giving him repeated opportunities of converſing with Governor Hearne, and Captain Chriſtopher.

The Honourable Mr. Daines Barrington had the goodneſs to intereſt himſelf, with his uſual zeal for every work of public utility, in procuring ſome neceſſary information, and ſuggeſting ſome valuable hints which were adopted.

It would be great injuſtice not to expreſs our acknowledgments to Mr. Pennant, who, beſides enriching the third volume with references to his *Arctic Zoology*, the publication of which will be an important acceſſion to Natural Hiſtory, alſo

alſo communicated ſome very authentic and ſatisfactory manuſcript accounts of the Ruſſian diſcoveries.

The vocabularies of the Friendly and Sandwich Iſlands, and of the natives of Nootka, had been furniſhed to Captain Cook, by his moſt uſeful aſſociate in the voyage, Mr. Anderſon; and a fourth, in which the language of the Eſquimaux is compared with that of the Americans on the oppoſite ſide of the continent, had been prepared by the Captain himſelf. But the comparative Table of Numerals, which is marked No. 2. in the Appendix, was very obligingly drawn up, at the requeſt of the Editor, by Mr. Bryant, who, in his ſtudy, has followed Captain Cook, and, indeed, every traveller and hiſtorian, of every age, into every part of the globe. The Public will conſider this Table as a very ſtriking illuſtration of the wonderful migrations of a nation, about whom ſo much additional information has been gained by our voyages, and be ready to acknowledge it as a very uſeful communication.

One more communication remains to be not only acknowledged, but to be inſerted at the cloſe of this Introduction. The *teſtimonies* of learned contemporaries, in commendation of a deceaſed Author, are frequently diſplayed in the front of his book. It is with the greateſt propriety, therefore, that we prefix to this poſthumous work of Captain Cook the *teſtimony* of one of his own profeſſion, not more diſtinguiſhed by the elevation of rank, than by the dignity of private virtues. As he wiſhes to remain concealed, perhaps this alluſion, for which we intreat his indulgence, may have given too exact direction to the eyes of the Public where to look for ſuch a character. Let us, however, reſt ſatisfied with the intrinſic merit of a compoſition,

conveyed

conveyed under the injunction of ſecrecy; and conclude our long preliminary diſſertation with expreſſing a wiſh, or rather a well-grounded hope, that this volume may not be the only place where poſterity can meet with a monumental inſcription, commemorative of a man, in recounting and applauding whoſe ſervices, the whole of enlightened Europe will equally concur with Great Britain.

TO

TO THE MEMORY OF

CAPTAIN JAMES COOK,

The ableſt and moſt renowned Navigator this or any country hath produced.

HE raiſed himſelf, ſolely by his merit, from a very obſcure birth, to the rank of Poſt Captain in the royal navy, and was, unfortunately, killed by the Savages of the iſland Owhyhee, on the 14th of February 1779; which iſland he had, not long before, diſcovered, when proſecuting his third voyage round the globe.

He poſſeſſed, in an eminent degree, all the qualifications requiſite for his profeſſion and great undertakings; together with the amiable and worthy qualities of the beſt men.

Cool and deliberate in judging: ſagacious in determining: active in executing: ſteady and perſevering in enterpriſing from vigilance and unremitting caution: unſubdued by labour, difficulties, and diſappointments: fertile in expedients: never wanting preſence of mind: always poſſeſſing himſelf, and the full uſe of a ſound underſtanding.

Mild, juſt, but exact in diſcipline: he was a father to his people, who were attached to him from affection, and obedient from confidence.

His knowledge, his experience, his ſagacity, rendered him ſo intirely maſter of his ſubject, that the greateſt obſtacles were ſurmounted, and the moſt dangerous navigations became eaſy, and almoſt ſafe, under his direction.

He

He explored the Southern hemiſphere to a much higher latitude than had ever been reached, and with fewer accidents than frequently befal thoſe who navigate the coaſts of this iſland.

By his benevolent and unabating attention to the welfare of his ſhip's company, he diſcovered and introduced a ſyſtem for the preſervation of the health of ſeamen in long voyages, which has proved wonderfully efficacious: for in his ſecond voyage round the world, which continued upwards of three years, he loſt only one man by diſtemper, of one hundred and eighteen, of which his company conſiſted.

The death of this eminent and valuable man was a loſs to mankind in general; and particularly to be deplored by every nation that reſpects uſeful accompliſhments, that honours ſcience, and loves the benevolent and amiable affections of the heart. It is ſtill more to be deplored by this country, which may juſtly boaſt of having produced a man hitherto unequalled for nautical talents; and that ſorrow is farther aggravated by the reflection, that his country was deprived of this ornament by the enmity of a people, from whom, indeed, it might have been dreaded, but from whom it was not deſerved. For, actuated always by the moſt attentive care and tender compaſſion for the ſavages in general, this excellent man was ever aſſiduouſly endeavouring, by kind treatment, to diſſipate their fears, and court their friendſhip; overlooking their thefts and treacheries, and frequently interpoſing, at the hazard of his life, to protect them from the ſudden reſentment of his own injured people.

The object of his laſt miſſion was to diſcover and aſcertain the boundaries of Aſia and America, and to penetrate into the Northern Ocean by the North Eaſt Cape of Aſia.

Traveller! contemplate, admire, revere, and emulate this great maſter in his profeſſion; whoſe ſkill and labours have enlarged natural philoſophy; have extended nautical ſcience; and have diſcloſed the long concealed and admirable arrangements of the Almighty in the formation

of this globe, and, at the ſame time, the arrogance of mortals, in preſuming to account, by their ſpeculations, for the laws by which he was pleaſed to create it. It is now diſcovered, beyond all doubt, that the ſame Great Being who created the univerſe by his fiat, *by the ſame ordained our earth to keep a juſt poiſe, without a correſponding Southern continent—and it does ſo!* "*He ſtretches out the North over the empty* "*place, and hangeth the earth upon nothing.*" Job, xxvi. 7.

If the arduous but exact reſearches of this extraordinary man have not diſcovered a new world, they have diſcovered ſeas unnavigated and unknown before. They have made us acquainted with iſlands, people and productions, of which we had no conception. And if he has not been ſo fortunate as Americus to give his name to a continent, his pretenſions to ſuch a diſtinction remain unrivalled; and he will be revered, while there remains a page of his own modeſt account of his voyages, and as long as mariners and geographers ſhall be inſtructed, by his new map of the Southern hemiſphere, to trace the various courſes and diſcoveries he has made.

If public ſervices merit public acknowledgments; if the man who adorned and raiſed the fame of his country is deſerving of honours, then Captain Cook *deſerves to have a monument raiſed to his memory, by a generous and grateful nation.*

Virtutis uberrimum alimentum eſt honos.

Val. Maximus, Lib. 2. Cap. 6.

LIST OF THE PLATES,

With DIRECTIONS for placing them.

[As many of the Purchaſers of this Work may chooſe to preſerve the larger-ſized Plates in a ſeparate volume in folio, theſe have been here marked with Aſteriſks; and Bookſellers are cautioned not to have them bound up, with the reſt of the Plates, in the places of theſe volumes pointed out by the reſpective References, unleſs they receive particular directions for that purpoſe.]

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2 A Seal's head, made of wood, worn upon their heads.

3 A bird's head; compoſed of wood and feathers, alſo worn upon their heads.

4 Another for the ſame purpoſe, and ornamented with green talc.

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N° 1 A wooden Inſtrument or Weapon, ſet round with the teeth of Sharks, with which they cut up their priſoners.
2 Another, for the ſame purpoſe.
3 A muſical Inſtrument; the upper part wicker-work, covered with feathers; the bottom part a gourd with ſtones in it, which the dancer ſhakes about.—See Plate LXII.
4 An Idol upon wicker-work, covered with feathers; the eyes mother of pearl, with a black nut; the mouth ſet with teeth of dogs.
5 A Bracelet, compoſed of the tuſks of hogs.
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[N. B. The longitude in theſe volumes is reckoned from the meridian of Greenwich, and after paſſing it to the Eaſt, in the South Atlantic, is carried on Eaſterly beyond the 180th degree, to the utmoſt extent of the voyage; and back, to the ſame meridian.]

A

VOYAGE

TO THE

PACIFIC OCEAN.

BOOK I.

Tranſactions from the Beginning of the Voyage till our Departure from New Zealand.

CHAP. I.

Various Preparations for the Voyage.—Omai's Behaviour on embarking.—Obſervations for determining the Longitude of Sheerneſs, and the North Foreland.—Paſſage of the Reſolution from Deptford to Plymouth.—Employments there.—Complements of the Crews of both Ships, and Names of the Officers.—Obſervations to fix the Longitude of Plymouth.—Departure of the Reſolution.

HAVING, on the ninth Day of February 1776, received a commiſſion to command his Majeſty's ſloop the Reſolution, I went on board the next day, hoiſted the pendant, and began to enter men. At the ſame time, the Diſcovery, of three hundred tons burthen, was

1776. February. Saturday 10.

1776. February. purchaſed into the ſervice, and the command of her given to Captain Clerke, who had been my ſecond Lieutenant on board the Reſolution, in my ſecond voyage round the world, from which we had lately returned.

Theſe two ſhips were, at this time, in the dock at Deptford, under the hands of the ſhipwrights; being ordered to be equipped to make farther diſcoveries in the Pacific Ocean, under my direction.

March. Saturday 9. On the 9th of March, the Reſolution was hauled out of dock into the River; where we completed her rigging, and took on board the ſtores and proviſions requiſite for a voyage of ſuch duration. Both ſhips, indeed, were ſupplied with as much of every neceſſary article as we could conveniently ſtow, and with the beſt of every kind that could be procured. And, beſides this, every thing that had been found, by the experience acquired during our former extenſive voyages, to be of any utility in preſerving the health of ſeamen, was ſupplied in abundance.

May. Monday 6. It was our intention to have ſailed to Long Reach on the 6th of May, when a pilot came on board to carry us thither; but it was the 29th before the wind would permit us to Thurſday 30. move; and the 30th before we arrived at that ſtation, where our artillery, powder, ſhot, and other ordnance ſtores were received.

June. While we lay in Long Reach, thus employed, the Earl of Sandwich, Sir Hugh Palliſer, and others of the Board of Admiralty, as the laſt mark of the very great attention they had all along ſhewn to this equipment, paid us a viſit on Satur . the 8th of June, to examine whether every thing had been completed conformably to their intentions and orders, and to the ſatisfaction of all who were to embark in the voyage.

They, and ſeveral other Noblemen and Gentlemen their friends, honoured me with their company at dinner on that day; and, on their coming on board, and alſo on their going aſhore, we ſaluted them with ſeventeen guns, and three cheers. 1776. June.

With the benevolent view of conveying ſome permanent benefit to the inhabitants of Otaheite, and of the other iſlands in the Pacific Ocean, whom we might happen to viſit, his Majeſty having commanded ſome uſeful animals to be carried out, we took on board, on the 10th, a bull, two cows with their calves, and ſome ſheep, with hay and corn for their ſubſiſtence; intending to add to theſe, other uſeful animals, when I ſhould arrive at the Cape of Good Hope. Monday 10.

I was alſo, from the ſame laudable motives, furniſhed with a ſufficient quantity of ſuch of our European garden ſeeds, as could not fail to be a valuable preſent to our newly-diſcovered iſlands, by adding freſh ſupplies of food to their own vegetable productions.

Many other articles, calculated to improve the condition of our friends in the other hemiſphere in various ways, were, at the ſame time, delivered to us by order of the Board of Admiralty. And both ſhips were provided with a proper aſſortment of iron tools and trinkets, as the means of enabling us to traffic, and to cultivate a friendly intercourſe with the inhabitants of ſuch new countries as we might be fortunate enough to meet with.

The ſame humane attention was extended to our own wants. Some additional cloathing, adapted to a cold climate, was ordered for our crews: and nothing was denied to us that could be ſuppoſed in the leaſt conducive to health, or even to convenience.

1776. June. Nor did the extraordinary care of thoſe at the head of the naval department ſtop here. They were equally ſolicitous to afford us every aſſiſtance towards rendering our voyage of public utility. Accordingly, we received on board, next Tueſday 11. day, ſeveral aſtronomical and nautical inſtruments, which the Board of Longitude intruſted to me, and to Mr. King, my ſecond Lieutenant; we having engaged to that Board to make all the neceſſary obſervations, during the voyage, for the improvement of aſtronomy and navigation; and, by our joint labours, to ſupply the place of a profeſſed obſervator. Such a perſon had been originally intended to be ſent out in my ſhip.

The Board, likewiſe, put into our poſſeſſion the ſame watch, or time-keeper, which I had carried out in my laſt voyage, and had performed its part ſo well. It was a copy of Mr. Harriſon's, conſtructed by Mr. Kendall. This day, at noon, it was found to be too ſlow for mean time at Greenwich, by $3'$, $31''$, 890; and by its rate of going, it loſt, on mean time, $1''$, 209 per day.

Another time keeper, and the ſame number and ſort of inſtruments for making obſervations, were put on board the Diſcovery, under the care of Mr. William Bailey; who, having already given ſatisfactory proofs of his ſkill and diligence as an obſervator, while employed in Captain Furneaux's ſhip, during the late voyage, was engaged a ſecond time, in that capacity, to embark with Captain Clerke.

Mr. Anderſon, my ſurgeon, who, to ſkill in his immediate profeſſion, added great proficiency in natural hiſtory, was as willing as he was well qualified, to deſcribe every thing in that branch of ſcience which ſhould occur worthy of notice. As he had already viſited the South Sea iſlands in the ſame ſhip, and been of ſingular ſervice, by enabling me to enrich

enrich my relation of that voyage with various uſeful remarks on men and things *, I reaſonably expected to derive conſiderable aſſiſtance from him, in recording our new proceedings. 1776. June.

I had ſeveral young men amongſt my ſea officers who, under my direction, could be uſefully employed in conſtructing charts, in taking views of the coaſts and headlands near which we ſhould paſs, and in drawing plans of the bays and harbours in which we ſhould anchor. A conſtant attention to this I knew to be highly requiſite, if we would render our diſcoveries profitable to future navigators.

And, that we might go out with every help that could ſerve to make the reſult of our voyage entertaining to the generality of readers, as well as inſtructive to the ſailor and ſcholar, Mr. Webber was pitched upon, and engaged to embark with me, for the expreſs purpoſe of ſupplying the unavoidable imperfections of written accounts, by enabling us to preſerve, and to bring home, ſuch drawings of the moſt memorable ſcenes of our tranſactions, as could only be executed by a profeſſed and ſkilful artiſt.

Every preparation being now completed, I received an order to proceed to Plymouth, and to take the Diſcovery under my command. I accordingly gave Captain Clerke two orders; one to put himſelf under my command, and the other to carry his ſhip round to Plymouth.

On the 15th, the Reſolution ſailed from Long Reach, with the Diſcovery in company, and the ſame evening they Saturday 15.

* The very copious Vocabulary of the language of Otaheite, and the comparative ſpecimen of the languages of the ſeveral other iſlands viſited during the former voyage, and publiſhed in Captain Cook's account of it, were furniſhed by Mr. Anderſon.

anchored

1776. June. anchored at the Nore. Next day the Diſcovery proceeded, in obedience to my order; but the Reſolution was ordered to remain at the Nore till I ſhould join her, being at this time in London.

As we were to touch at Otaheite and the Society Iſlands, in our way to the intended ſcene of our freſh operations, it had been determined not to omit this opportunity (the only one ever likely to happen) of carrying Omai back to his native country. Accordingly, every thing being ready for our de-
Monday 24. parture, he and I ſet out together from London on the 24th, at ſix o'clock in the morning. We reached Chatham between ten and eleven o'clock; and, after dining with Commiſſioner Proby, he very obligingly ordered his yacht to carry us to Sheerneſs, where my boat was waiting to take us on board.

Omai left London with a mixture of regret and ſatisfaction. When we talked about England, and about thoſe who, during his ſtay, had honoured him with their protection or friendſhip, I could obſerve that his ſpirits were ſenſibly affected, and that it was with difficulty he could refrain from tears. But, the inſtant the converſation turned to his own iſlands, his eyes began to ſparkle with joy. He was deeply impreſſed with a ſenſe of the good treatment he had met with in England, and entertained the higheſt ideas of the country and of the people. But the pleaſing proſpect he now had before him of returning home, loaded with what, he well knew, would be eſteemed invaluable treaſures there, and the flattering hope which the poſſeſſion of theſe gave him, of attaining to a diſtinguiſhed ſuperiority amongſt his countrymen, were conſiderations which operated, by degrees, to ſuppreſs every uneaſy ſenſation; and he ſeemed to be quite happy when he got on board the ſhip.

He

He was furniſhed, by his Majeſty, with an ample proviſion of every article which, during our intercourſe with his country, we had obſerved to be in any eſtimation there, either as uſeful or as ornamental. He had, beſides, received many preſents of the ſame nature from Lord Sandwich, Mr.* Banks, and ſeveral other Gentlemen and Ladies of his acquaintance. In ſhort, every method had been employed, both during his abode in England, and at his departure, to make him the inſtrument of conveying to the inhabitants of the iſlands of the Pacific Ocean, the moſt exalted opinion of the greatneſs and generoſity of the Britiſh nation. 1776. June.

While the Reſolution lay at the Nore, Mr. King made ſeveral obſervations for finding the longitude by the watch. The mean of them all, gave 0° 44′ 0″, for the longitude of the ſhip. This, reduced to Sheerneſs, by the bearing and eſtimated diſtance, will make that place to be 0° 37′ 0″ Eaſt of Greenwich; which is more by ſeven miles than Mr. Lyons made it, by the watch which Lord Mulgrave had with him, on his voyage towards the North Pole. Whoever knows any thing of the diſtance between Sheerneſs and Greenwich, will be a judge which of theſe two obſervations is neareſt the truth.

The variation of the needle here, by a mean of different ſets, taken with different compaſſes, was 20° 37′ Weſt.

On the 25th, about noon, we weighed anchor, and made ſail for the Downs, through the Queen's Channel, with a gentle breeze at North Weſt by Weſt. At nine in the evening we anchored, with the North Foreland bearing South by Eaſt, and Margate Point South Weſt by South. Tueſday 25.

* Now Sir Joſeph.

Next

1776. June. Wedneſ. 26. Next morning, at two o'clock, we weighed and ſtood round the Foreland; and when it bore North, allowing for the variation of the compaſs, the watch gave 1° 24′ Eaſt longitude, which, reduced to the Foreland, will be 1° 21′ Eaſt. Lunar obſervations made the preceding evening, fixed it at 1° 20′ Eaſt. At eight o'clock the ſame morning, we anchored in the Downs. Two boats had been built for us at Deal, and I immediately ſent on ſhore for them. I was told that many people had aſſembled there to ſee Omai; but, to their great diſappointment, he did not land.

Having received the boats on board, and a light breeze at South South Eaſt ſpringing up, we got under ſail the next Thurſday 27. day at two o'clock in the afternoon. But the breeze ſoon died away, and we were obliged to anchor again till ten o'clock at night. We then weighed, with the wind at Eaſt, and proceeded down the channel.

Sunday 30. On the 30th, at three o'clock in the afternoon, we anchored in Plymouth Sound, where the Diſcovery had arrived only three days before. I ſaluted Admiral Amherſt, whoſe flag was flying on board the Ocean, with thirteen guns, and he returned the compliment with eleven.

It was the firſt object of our care, on arriving at Plymouth, to replace the water and proviſions that we had July. expended, and to receive on board a ſupply of Port Wine. Monday 1. This was the employment which occupied us on the 1ſt and Tueſday 2. 2d of July.

During our ſtay here, the crews were ſerved with freſh beef every day. And I ſhould not do juſtice to Mr. Ommanney, the Agent Victualler, if I did not take this opportunity to mention, that he ſhewed a very obliging readineſs to furniſh me with the beſt of every thing that lay within his department.

partment. I had been under the like obligations to him on my ſetting out upon my laſt voyage. Commiſſioner Ourry, with equal zeal for the ſervice, gave us every aſſiſtance that we wanted from the naval yard. 1776. July.

It could not but occur to us as a ſingular and affecting circumſtance, that at the very inſtant of our departure upon a voyage, the object of which was to benefit Europe by making freſh diſcoveries in North America, there ſhould be the unhappy neceſſity of employing others of his Majeſty's ſhips, and of conveying numerous bodies of land forces, to ſecure the obedience of thoſe parts of that continent which had been diſcovered and ſettled by our countrymen in the laſt century. On the 6th, his Majeſty's ſhips Diamond, Ambuſcade, and Unicorn, with a fleet of tranſports, conſiſting of ſixty-two ſail, bound to America, with the laſt diviſion of the Heſſian troops, and ſome horſe, were forced into the Sound by a ſtrong North Weſt Wind. Saturday 6.

On the 8th, I received, by expreſs, my inſtructions * for the voyage, and an order to proceed to the Cape of Good Hope with the Reſolution. I was alſo directed to leave an order for Captain Clerke to follow us, as ſoon as he ſhould join his ſhip; he being, at this time, detained in London. Monday 8.

Our firſt diſcoverers of the New World, and navigators of the Indian and Pacific Oceans, were juſtly thought to have exerted ſuch uncommon abilities, and to have accompliſhed ſuch perilous enterprizes, that their names have been handed down to poſterity as ſo many Argonauts. Nay, even the hulks of the ſhips that carried them, though not converted into conſtellations in the Heavens, uſed to be honoured and viſited as ſacred reliques upon earth. We, in the pre-

* See the inſtructions, in the Introduction.

1776. July. fent age of improved navigation, who have been inſtructed by their labours, and have followed them as our guides, have no ſuch claim to fame. Some merit, however, being ſtill, in the public opinion, conſidered as due to thoſe who ſail to unexplored quarters of the globe, in conformity to this favourable judgment, I prefixed to the account of my laſt voyage the names of the officers of both my ſhips, and a table of the number of their reſpective crews. The like information will be expected from me at preſent.

The Reſolution was fitted out with the ſame complement of officers and men ſhe had before; and the Diſcovery's eſtabliſhment varied from that of the Adventure, in the ſingle inſtance of her having no marine officer on board. This arrangement was to be finally completed at Plymouth; Tueſday 9. and, on the 9th, we received the party of marines allotted for our voyage. Colonel Bell, who commanded the diviſion at this port, gave me ſuch men for the detachment as I had reaſon to be ſatisfied with. And the ſupernumerary ſeamen, occaſioned by this reinforcement, being turned over into the Ocean man of war, our ſeveral complements remained fixed, as repreſented in the following table:

1776. July.

RESOLUTION.			DISCOVERY.	
Officers and Men.	N°	*Officers Names.*	N°	*Officers Names.*
Captain, - -	1	James Cook. -	1	Charles Clerke.
Lieutenants, - -	3	John Gore. -	2	James Burney.
		James King. -		John Rickman.
		John Williamſon.		
Maſter, - -	1	William Bligh. -	1	Thomas Edgar.
Boatſwain, - -	1	William Ewin. -	1	Eneas Atkins.
Carpenter, - -	1	James Clevely. -	1	Peter Reynolds.
Gunner, - -	1	Robert Anderſon.	1	William Peckover.
Surgeon, - -	1	William Anderſon.	1	John Law.
Maſter's Mates, -	3	- - -	2	
Midſhipmen, -	6	- - -	4	
Surgeon's Mates, -	2	- - -	2	
Captain's Clerk, -	1	- - -	1	
Maſter at Arms, -	1	- - -	1	
Corporal, - -	1			
Armourer, - -	1	- - -	1	
Ditto Mate, - -	1	- - -	1	
Sail Maker, - -	1	- - -	1	
Ditto Mate, - -	1	- - -	1	
Boatſwain's Mates,	3	- - -	2	
Carpenter's Ditto,	3	- - -	2	
Gunner's Ditto, -	2	- - -	1	
Carpenter's Crew,	4	- - -	4	
Cook, - -	1	- - -	1	
Ditto Mate, - -	1			
Quarter Maſters, -	6	- - -	4	
Able Seamen, - -	45	- - -	33	
		Marines.		
Lieutenant, - -	1	Moleſworth Philips.		
Serjeant, - -	1	- - -	1	
Corporals, - -	2	- - -	1	
Drummer, - -	1	- - -	1	
Private, - -	15	- - -	8	
Total,	112		80	

1776. July. Wedneſ. 10. On the 10th, the Commiſſioner and Pay Clerks came on board, and paid the officers and crew up to the 30th of laſt month. The petty officers and ſeamen had, beſides, two months wages in advance. Such indulgence to the latter, is no more than what is cuſtomary in the navy. But the payment of what was due to the ſuperior officers was humanely ordered by the Admiralty, in conſideration of our peculiar ſituation, that we might be better able to defray the very great expence of furniſhing ourſelves with a ſtock of neceſſaries for a voyage which, probably, would be of unuſual duration, and to regions where no ſupply could be expected.

Nothing now obſtructing my departure but a contrary wind, which blew ſtrong at South Weſt, in the morning of Thurſday 11. the 11th, I delivered into the hands of Mr. Burney, firſt Lieutenant of the Diſcovery, Captain Clerke's ſailing orders; a copy of which I alſo left with the Officer * commanding his Majeſty's ſhips at Plymouth, to be delivered to the Captain immediately on his arrival. In the afternoon, the wind moderating, we weighed with the ebb, and got farther out, beyond all the ſhipping in the Sound; where, after making an unſucceſsful attempt to get to ſea, we were detained Friday 12. moſt of the following day, which was employed in receiving on board a ſupply of water; and, by the ſame veſſel that brought it, all the empty caſks were returned.

As I did not imagine my ſtay at Plymouth would have been ſo long as it proved, we did not get our inſtruments on ſhore to make the neceſſary obſervations for aſcertaining the longitude by the watch. For the ſame reaſon, Mr. Baily did not ſet about this, till he found that the Diſcovery would,

* Captain Le Craſs, Admiral Amherſt having ſtruck his flag ſome days before.

probably, be detained ſome days after us. He then placed his quadrant upon Drake's Iſland; and had time, before the Reſolution ſailed, to make obſervations ſufficient for the purpoſe we had in view. Our watch made the iſland to lie 4° 14′, and his, 4° 13½′, Weſt of Greenwich. Its latitude, as found by Meſſrs. Wales and Baily, on the laſt voyage, is 50° 21′ 30″ North. 1776. July.

We weighed again at eight in the evening, and ſtood out of the Sound, with a gentle breeze at North Weſt by Weſt.

CHAP.

CHAP. II.

Paſſage of the Reſolution to Teneriffe.—Reception there.—Deſcription of Santa Cruz Road.—Refreſhments to be met with.—Obſervations for fixing the Longitude of Teneriffe.—Some Account of the Iſland.—Botanical Obſervations.—Cities of Santa Cruz and Laguna.—Agriculture.—Air and Climate.—Commerce.—Inhabitants.

1776. July. Friday 12. WE had not been long out of Plymouth Sound, before the wind came more weſterly, and blew freſh, ſo that we were obliged to ply down the Channel; and it was

Sunday 14. not till the 14th, at eight in the evening, that we were off the Lizard.

Tueſday 16. On the 16th, at noon, St. Agnes's Light-houſe on the Iſles of Scilly, bore North Weſt by Weſt, diſtant ſeven or eight miles. Our latitude was, now, 49° 53′ 30″ North, and our longitude, by the watch, 6° 11′ Weſt. Hence, I reckon that St. Agnes's Light-houſe is in 49° 57′ 30″ North latitude, and in 6° 20′ of Weſt longitude.

Wedneſ. 17. Thurſday 18. On the 17th * and 18th we were off Uſhant, and found the longitude of the iſland to be, by the watch, 5° 18′ 37″ Weſt. The variation was 23° 0′ 50″, in the ſame direction.

* It appears from Captain Cook's log-book, that he began his judicious operations for preſerving the health of his crew, very early in the voyage. On the 17th, the ſhip was ſmoked between decks with gun-powder. The ſpare ſails alſo were then well aired.

With a ſtrong gale at South, on the 19th, we ſtood to the weſtward, till eight o'clock in the morning; when, the wind ſhifting to the Weſt and North Weſt, we tacked and ſtretched to the Southward. At this time, we ſaw nine ſail of large ſhips, which we judged to be French men of war. They took no particular notice of us, nor we of them. 1776. July. Friday 19.

At ten o'clock in the morning of the 22d, we ſaw Cape Ortegal; which at noon bore South Eaſt, half South, about four leagues diſtant. At this time we were in the latitude of 44° 6′ North; and our longitude, by the watch, was 8° 23′ Weſt. Monday 22.

After two days of calm weather we paſſed Cape Finiſterre, on the afternoon of the 24th, with a fine gale at North North Eaſt. The longitude of this Cape, by the watch, is 9° 29′ Weſt; and, by the mean of forty-one lunar obſervations, made before and after we paſſed it, and reduced to it by the watch, the reſult was 9° 19′ 12″. Wedneſ. 24.

On the 30th, at ſix minutes and thirty-eight ſeconds paſt ten o'clock at night, apparent time, I obſerved, with a night teleſcope, the moon totally eclipſed. By the *ephemeris*, the ſame happened at Greenwich at nine minutes paſt eleven o'clock; the difference being one hour, two minutes, and twenty-two ſeconds, or 15° 35′ 30″ of longitude. The watch, for the ſame time, gave 15° 26′ 45″ longitude Weſt; and latitude 31° 10′ North. No other obſervation could be made on this eclipſe, as the moon was hid behind the clouds the greater part of the time; and, in particular, when the beginning and end of total darkneſs, and the end of the eclipſe, happened. Tueſday 30.

Finding that we had not hay and corn ſufficient for the ſubſiſtence of the ſtock of animals on board, till our arrival

at

1776. July. at the Cape of Good Hope, I determined to touch at Teneriffe, to get a ſupply of theſe, and of the uſual refreſhments for ourſelves; thinking that iſland, for ſuch purpoſes, better adapted than Madeira. At four in the afternoon of the

Wedneſ. 31. 31ſt, we ſaw Teneriffe, and ſteered for the eaſtern part. At nine, being near it, we hauled up, and ſtood off and on during the night.

Auguſt. Thurſday 1. At day-light, on the morning of the 1ſt of Auguſt, we ſailed round the Eaſt Point of the iſland; and, about eight o'clock, anchored on the South Eaſt ſide of it, in the Road of Santa Cruz, in twenty-three fathoms water; the bottom, ſand and owze. Punta de Nago, the Eaſt point of the Road, bore North 64° Eaſt; St. Francis's church, remarkable for its high ſteeple, Weſt South Weſt; the Pic, South 65° Weſt; and the South Weſt point of the Road, on which ſtands a fort or caſtle, South 39° Weſt. In this ſituation, we moored North Eaſt and South Weſt, with a cable each way, being near half a mile from the ſhore.

We found, riding in this Road, La Bouſſole, a French frigate, commanded by the *Chevalier de Borda;* two brigantines of the ſame nation; an Engliſh brigantine from London, bound to Senegal; and fourteen ſail of Spaniſh veſſels.

No ſooner had we anchored, than we were viſited by the Maſter of the Port, who ſatisfied himſelf with aſking the ſhip's name. Upon his leaving us, I ſent an officer aſhore, to preſent my reſpects to the Governor; and to aſk his leave to take in water, and to purchaſe ſuch articles as we were in want of. All this he granted with the greateſt politeneſs; and, ſoon after, ſent an officer on board, to compliment me on my arrival. In the afternoon, I waited upon him in perſon, accompanied by ſome of my officers; and, before I returned

returned to my ſhip, beſpoke ſome corn and ſtraw for the live ſtock; ordered a quantity of wine from Mr. M'Carrick, the contractor, and made an agreement with the maſter of a Spaniſh boat to ſupply us with water, as I found that we could not do it ourſelves. 1776. Auguſt.

The road of Santa Cruz is ſituated before the town of the ſame name, on the South Eaſt ſide of the iſland. It is, as I am told, the principal road of Teneriffe, for ſhelter, capacity, and the goodneſs of its bottom. It lies entirely open to the South Eaſt and South winds. But theſe winds are never of long continuance; and, they ſay, there is not an inſtance * of a ſhip driving from her anchors on ſhore. This may, in part, be owing to the great care they take in mooring them; for I obſerved, that all the ſhips we met with there, had four anchors out; two to the North Eaſt, and two to the South Weſt; and their cables buoyed up with caſks. Ours ſuffered a little by not obſerving this laſt precaution.

At the South Weſt part of the road, a ſtone pier runs out into the ſea from the town, for the convenience of loading and landing of goods. To this pier, the water that ſupplies the ſhipping is conveyed. This, as alſo what the inhabitants of Santa Cruz uſe, is derived from a rivulet that runs from the hills, the greateſt part of which comes into the town in wooden ſpouts or troughs, that are ſupported by ſlender poſts, and the remainder doth not reach the ſea; though it is evident, from the ſize of the channel, that

* Though no ſuch inſtance was known to thoſe from whom Captain Cook had this information, we learn from Glas, that *ſome years before* he was at Teneriffe, *almoſt all the ſhipping in the road were driven on ſhore.* See *Glas's Hiſt. of the Canary Iſlands*, p. 235. We may well ſuppoſe the precautions now uſed, have prevented any more ſuch accidents happening. This will ſufficiently juſtify Captain Cook's account.

1776. August. ſometimes large torrents ruſh down. At this time theſe troughs were repairing, ſo that freſh water, which is very good here, was ſcarce.

Were we to judge from the appearance of the country in the neighbourhood of Santa Cruz, it might be concluded that Teneriffe is a barren ſpot, inſufficient to maintain even its own inhabitants. The ample ſupplies, however, which we received, convinced us that they had enough to ſpare for viſitors. Beſides wine, which is the chief produce of the iſland, beef may be had at a moderate price. The oxen are ſmall and boney, and weigh about ninety pounds a quarter. The meat is but lean, and was, at preſent, ſold for half a bit (three pence ſterling) a pound. I, unadviſedly, bought the bullocks alive, and paid conſiderably more. Hogs, ſheep, goats and poultry, are likewiſe to be bought at the ſame moderate rate; and fruits are in great plenty. At this time we had grapes, figs, pears, mulberries, plantains, and muſk melons. There is a variety of other fruits produced here, though not in ſeaſon at this time. Their pumpkins, onions, and potatoes, are exceedingly good of their kind, and keep better at ſea than any I ever before met with.

The Indian corn, which is alſo their produce, coſt me about three ſhillings and ſixpence a buſhel; and the fruits and roots were, in general, very cheap. They have not any plentiful ſupply of fiſh from the adjoining ſea; but a very conſiderable fiſhery is carried on by their veſſels upon the coaſt of Barbary; and the produce of it ſells at a reaſonable price. Upon the whole, I found Teneriffe to be a more eligible place than Madeira, for ſhips bound on long voyages to touch at; though the wine of the latter, according to my taſte,

taſte, is as much ſuperior to that of the former, as ſtrong beer is to ſmall. To compenſate for this, the difference of prices is conſiderable; for the beſt Teneriffe wine was now ſold for twelve pounds a pipe; whereas a pipe of the beſt Madeira would have coſt conſiderably more than double that ſum *. 1776. Auguſt.

The Chevalier de Borda, Commander of the French frigate now lying in Santa Cruz road, was employed, in conjunction with Mr. Varila, a Spaniſh Gentleman, in making aſtronomical obſervations for aſcertaining the going of two time-keepers which they had on board their ſhip. For this purpoſe, they had a tent pitched on the pier head, where they made their obſervations, and compared their watches, every day at noon, with the clock on ſhore, by ſignals. Theſe ſignals the Chevalier very obligingly communicated to us; ſo that we could compare our watch at the ſame time. But our ſtay was too ſhort, to profit much by his kindneſs.

The three days compariſons which we made, aſſured us that the watch had not materially, if at all, altered her rate of going; and gave us the ſame longitude, within a very few ſeconds, that was obtained by finding the time from obſervations of the ſun's altitude from the horizon of the ſea. The watch, from a mean of theſe obſervations, on the 1ſt, 2d, and 3d of Auguſt, made the longitude 16° 31′

* Formerly, there was made at Teneriffe a great quantity of Canary ſack, which the French call *Vin de Malveſie*; and we, corruptly after them, name Malmſey (from Malveſia, a town in the Morea, famous for ſuch luſcious wine). In the laſt century, and ſtill later, much of this was imported into England; but little wine is now made there, but of the ſort deſcribed by Captain Cook. Not more than fifty pipes of the rich Canary was annually made in Glas's time; and he ſays, they now gather the grapes when green, and make a dry hard wine of them, fit for hot climates, p. 262.,

1776. August. West; and, in like manner, the latitude was found to be 28° 30′ 11″ North.

Mr. Varila informed us, that the true longitude was 18° 35′ 30″, from Paris, which is only 16° 16′ 30″ from Greenwich; less than what our watch gave by 14′ 30″. But, far from looking upon this as an error in the watch, I rather think it a confirmation of its having gone well; and that the longitude by it may be nearer the truth than any other. It is farther confirmed by the lunar observations that we made in the road, which gave 16° 37′ 10″. Those made before we arrived, and reduced to the road by the watch, gave 16° 33′ 30″: and those made after we left it, and reduced back in the same manner, gave 16° 28′. The mean of the three is 16° 30′ 40″.

To reduce these several longitudes, and the latitude, to the Pic of Teneriffe, one of the most noted points of land with Geographers (to obtain the true situation of which, I have entered into this particular discussion), I had recourse to the bearing, and a few hours of the ship's run after leaving Santa Cruz road; and found it to be 12′ 11″ South of the road, and 29′ 30″ of longitude West of it. As the base, which helped to determine this, was partly estimated, it is liable to some error; but I think I cannot be much mistaken. Dr. Maskelyne, in his *British Mariner's Guide*, places the Pic in the latitude of 28° 12′ 54″. This, with the bearing from the road, will give the difference of longitude 43′, which considerably exceeds the distance they reckon the Pic to be from Santa Cruz. I made the latitude of the Pic to be 28° 18′ North. Upon that supposition, its longitude will be as follows:

By

1776. August.

By { The Time-keeper - 17° 0′ 30″ / Lunar obſervations - 16° 30′ 20″ / Mr. Varila - - 16° 46′ 0″ } Weſt.

But if the latitude of it is 28° 12′ 54″, as in the *Britiſh Mariner's Guide*, its longitude will be 13′ 30″ more weſterly.

The variation, when we were at anchor in the road, by the mean of all our compaſſes, was found to be 14° 41′ 20″ Weſt. The dip of the North end of the needle was 61° 52′ 30″.

Some of Mr. Anderſon's remarks on the natural appearances of Teneriffe, and its productions; and what he obſerved himſelf, or learnt by information, about the general ſtate of the iſland, will be of uſe, particularly in marking what changes may have happened there ſince Mr. Glas viſited it. They here follow in his own words:

" While we were ſtanding in for the land, the weather being perfectly clear, we had an opportunity of ſeeing the celebrated Pic of Teneriffe. But, I own, I was much diſappointed in my expectation with reſpect to its appearance. It is, certainly, far from equalling the noble figure of Pico, one of the weſtern iſles which I have ſeen; though its perpendicular height may be greater. This circumſtance, perhaps, ariſes from its being ſurrounded by other very high hills; whereas Pico ſtands without a rival.

Behind the city of Santa Cruz, the country riſes gradually, and is of a moderate height. Beyond this, to the South Weſtward, it becomes higher, and continues to riſe towards the Pic, which, from the road, appears but little higher than the ſurrounding hills. From thence it ſeems to decreaſe, though not ſuddenly, as far as the eye can reach. From a ſuppoſition that we ſhould not ſtay above one day,

I was

1776. Auguſt. I was obliged to contract my excurſions into the country; otherwiſe, I had propoſed to viſit the top of this famous mountain *.

To the eaſtward of Santa Cruz, the iſland appears perfectly barren. Ridges of hills run towards the ſea; between which ridges are deep valleys, terminating at mountains or hills that run acroſs, and are higher than the former. Thoſe that run towards the ſea, are marked by impreſſions on their ſides, which make them appear as a ſucceſſion of conic hills, with their tops very rugged. The higher ones that run acroſs, are more uniform in their appearance.

In the forenoon of the 1ſt of Auguſt, after we had anchored in the road, I went on ſhore to one of theſe valleys, with an intention to reach the top of the remoter hills, which ſeemed covered with wood; but time would not allow me to get farther than their foot. After walking about three miles, I found no alteration in the appearance of the lower hills; which produce great quantities of the *euphorbia Canarienſis*. It is ſurpriſing that this large ſucculent plant, ſhould thrive on ſo burnt-up a ſoil. When broken, which is eaſily done, the quantity of juice is very great; and it might be ſuppoſed that, when dried, it would ſhrivel to nothing; yet it is a pretty tough, though ſoft and light

* See an account of a journey to the top of the Pic of Teneriffe, in *Sprat's Hiſtory of the Royal Society*, p. 200, &c. *Glas* alſo went to the top of it. *Hiſtory of the Canary Iſlands*, p. 252 to 259. In the Philoſophical Tranſactions, vol. xlvii. p. 353 — 356, we have *Obſervations made, in going up the Pic of Teneriffe, by Dr. T. Heberden.* The Doctor makes its height, above the level of the ſea, to be 2566 fathoms, or 15,396 Engliſh feet; and ſays, that this was confirmed by two ſubſequent obſervations by himſelf, and another made by Mr. Croſſe, the Conſul. And yet, I find, that the Chevalier de Borda, who meaſured the height of this mountain in Auguſt 1776, makes it to be only 1931 French toiſes, or 12,340 Engliſh feet. See Doctor Forſter's *Obſervations during a Voyage round the World*, p. 32.

wood.

wood. The people here believe its juice to be ſo cauſtic as to erode the ſkin*; but I convinced them, though with much difficulty, to the contrary, by thruſting my finger into the plant full of it, without afterwards wiping it off. They break down the buſhes of *euphorbia*, and ſuffering them to dry, carry them home for fuel. I met with nothing elſe growing there, but two or three ſmall ſhrubs, and a few fig-trees near the bottom of the valley. 1776. Auguſt.

The baſis of the hills is a heavy, compact, blueiſh ſtone, mixed with ſome ſhining particles; and, on the ſurface, large maſſes of red friable earth, or ſtone, are ſcattered about. I alſo often found the ſame ſubſtance diſpoſed in thick *ſtrata*; and the little earth, ſtrewed here and there, was a blackiſh mould. There were likewiſe ſome pieces of ſlag; one of which, from its weight and ſmooth ſurface, ſeemed almoſt wholly metalline.

The mouldering ſtate of theſe hills is, doubtleſs, owing to the perpetual action of the ſun, which calcines their ſurface. This mouldered part being afterwards waſhed away by the heavy rains, perhaps is the cauſe of their ſides being ſo uneven. For, as the different ſubſtances of which they are compoſed, are more or leſs eaſily affected by the ſun's heat, they will be carried away in the like proportions. Hence, perhaps, the tops of the hills, being of the hardeſt rock, have ſtood, while the other parts on a declivity have been deſtroyed. As I have uſually obſerved, that the tops of moſt mountains that are covered with trees have a more uniform appearance, I am inclined to believe that this is owing to their being ſhaded.

* *Glas*, p. 231, ſpeaking of this plant, ſays, that *he cannot imagine why the natives of the Canaries do not extract the juice, and uſe it inſtead of pitch, for the bottoms of their boats.* We now learn from Mr. Anderſon their reaſon for not uſing it.

1776. Auguſt. The city of Santa Cruz, though not large, is tolerably well built. The churches are not magnificent without; but within are decent, and indifferently ornamented. They are inferior to ſome of the churches at Madeira; but, I imagine, this rather ariſes from the different diſpoſition of the people, than from their inability to ſupport them better. For the private houſes, and dreſs of the Spaniſh inhabitants of Santa Cruz, are far preferable to thoſe of the Portugueſe at Madeira; who, perhaps, are willing to ſtrip themſelves, that they may adorn their churches.

Almoſt facing the ſtone pier at the landing-place, is a handſome marble column lately put up, ornamented with ſome human figures, that do no diſcredit to the artiſt; with an inſcription in Spaniſh, to commemorate the occaſion of the erection; and the date.

Friday 2. In the afternoon of the 2d, four of us hired mules to ride to the city of Laguna *, ſo called from an adjoining lake, about four miles from Santa Cruz. We arrived there between five and ſix in the evening; but found a ſight of it very unable to compenſate for our trouble, as the road was very bad, and the mules but indifferent. The place is, indeed, pretty extenſive, but ſcarcely deſerves to be dignified with the name of City. The diſpoſition of its ſtreets is very irregular; yet ſome of them are of a tolerable breadth, and have ſome good houſes In general, however, Laguna is inferior in appearance to Santa Cruz, though the latter is but ſmall, if compared with the former. We were informed, likewiſe, that Laguna is declining faſt; there being, at

* Its extended name is St. Chriſtobal de la Laguna; and it uſed to be reckoned the capital of the iſland, the gentry and lawyers living there; though the Governor General of the Canary Iſlands reſides at Santa Cruz, as being the center of their trade, both with Europe and America. See *Glas's Hiſt.* p. 248.

preſent, ſome vineyards where houſes formerly ſtood; whereas Santa Cruz is encreaſing daily. 1776. Auguſt.

The road leading from Santa Cruz to Laguna runs up a ſteep hill, which is very barren; but, lower down, we ſaw ſome fig-trees, and ſeveral corn fields. Theſe are but ſmall, and not thrown into ridges, as is practiſed in England. Nor does it appear that they can raiſe any corn here without great labour, as the ground is ſo encumbered with ſtones, that they are obliged to collect and lay them in broad rows, or walls, at ſmall diſtances. The large hills that run to the South-weſt, appeared to be pretty well furniſhed with trees. Nothing elſe worth noticing preſented itſelf during this excurſion, except a few aloe plants in flower, near the ſide of the road, and the cheerfulneſs of our guides, who amuſed us with ſongs by the way.

Moſt of the laborious work in this iſland is performed by mules; horſes being to appearance ſcarce, and chiefly reſerved for the uſe of the officers. They are of a ſmall ſize, but well ſhaped and ſpirited. Oxen are alſo employed to drag their caſks along upon a large clumſy piece of wood; and they are yoked by the head; though it doth not ſeem that this has any peculiar advantage over our method of fixing the harneſs on the ſhoulders. In my walks and excurſions I ſaw ſome hawks, parrots, which are natives of the iſland, the ſea ſwallow or tern, ſea gulls, partridges, wag-tails, ſwallows, martins, blackbirds, and Canary-birds in large flocks. There are alſo lizards of the common, and another ſort; ſome inſects, as locuſts; and three or four ſorts of dragon flies.

I had an opportunity of converſing with a ſenſible and well-informed gentleman reſiding here, and whoſe veracity

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I have not the leaſt reaſon to doubt. From him I learnt ſome particulars, which, during the ſhort ſtay of three days, did not fall within my own obſervation. He informed me, that a ſhrub is common here, agreeing exactly with the deſcription given by Tournefort and Linnæus, of the *tea ſhrub*, as growing in China and Japan. It is reckoned a weed, and he roots out thouſands of them every year, from his vineyards. The Spaniards, however, of the iſland, ſometimes uſe it as tea, and aſcribe to it all the qualities of that imported from China. They alſo give it the name of tea; but what is remarkable, they ſay it was found here when the iſlands were firſt diſcovered.

Another botanical curioſity, mentioned by him, is what they call the *impregnated lemon**. It is a perfect and diſtinct lemon, incloſed within another, differing from the outer one only in being a little more globular. The leaves of the tree that produces this ſort, are much longer than thoſe of the common one; and it was repreſented to me as being crooked, and not equal in beauty.

From him I learnt alſo, that a certain ſort of grape growing here, is reckoned an excellent remedy in phthiſical complaints. And the air and climate, in general, are remarkably healthful, and particularly adapted to give relief in ſuch diſeaſes. This he endeavoured to account for, by its being always in one's power to procure a different temperature of the air, by reſiding at different heights in the iſland; and he expreſſed his ſurprize that the Engliſh phyſicians ſhould never have thought of ſending their conſumptive patients to Teneriffe, inſtead of Nice or Liſbon.

* The Writer of the *Relation of Teneriffe, in Sprat's Hiſtory*, p. 207, takes notice of this lemon as produced here, and calls it *Pregnada*. Probably, *emprennada*, the Spaniſh word for *impregnated*, is the name it goes by.

How much the temperature of the air varies here, I myſelf could ſenſiby perceive, only in riding from Santa Cruz up to Laguna; and you may aſcend till the cold becomes intolerable. I was aſſured that no perſon can live comfortably within a mile of the perpendicular height of the Pic, after the month of Auguſt *. 1776. Auguſt.

Although ſome ſmoke conſtantly iſſues from near the top of the Pic, they have had no earthquake or eruption of a volcano ſince 1704, when the port of Garrachica, where much of their trade was formerly carried on, was deſtroyed †.

Their trade, indeed, muſt be conſidered as very conſiderable; for they reckon that forty thouſand pipes of wine are annually made; the greateſt part of which is either conſumed in the iſland, or made into brandy, and ſent to the Spaniſh Weſt Indies ‡. About ſix thouſand pipes were exported every year to North America, while the trade with it

* This agrees with Dr. T. Heberden's account, who ſays that the ſugar-loaf part of the mountain, or *la pericoſa* (as it is called), *which is an eighth part of a league* (or 1980 feet) *to the top, is covered with ſnow the greateſt part of the year.* See *Philoſophical Tranſactions*, as quoted above.

† This port was then filled up by the rivers of burning lava that flowed into it from a volcano; inſomuch that houſes are now built where ſhips formerly lay at anchor. See *Glas's Hiſt.* p. 244.

‡ *Glas*, p. 342, ſays, that they annually export no leſs than fifteen thouſand pipes of wine and brandy. In another place, p. 252, he tells us, that the number of the inhabitants of Teneriffe, when the laſt account was taken, was no leſs than 96,000. We may reaſonably ſuppoſe that there has been a conſiderable increaſe of population ſince Glas viſited the iſland, which is above thirty years ago. The quantity of wine annually conſumed, as the common beverage of at leaſt one hundred thouſand perſons, muſt amount to ſeveral thouſand pipes. There muſt be a vaſt expenditure of it, by converſion into brandy; to produce one pipe of which, five or ſix pipes of wine muſt be diſtilled. An attention to theſe particulars will enable every one to judge, that the account given to Mr. Anderſon, of an annual produce of 40,000 pipes of wine, has a foundation in truth.

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was uninterrupted; at preſent, they think not above half the quantity. The corn they raiſe is, in general, inſufficient to maintain the inhabitants; but the deficiency uſed to be ſupplied by importation from the North Americans, who took their wines in return.

They make a little ſilk; but unleſs we reckon the filtering-ſtones, brought in great numbers from Grand Canary, the wine is the only conſiderable article of the foreign commerce of Teneriffe.

None of the race of inhabitants found here when the Spaniards diſcovered the Canaries now remain a diſtinct people *, having intermarried with the Spaniſh ſettlers; but their deſcendants are known, from their being remarkably tall, large-boned, and ſtrong. The men are, in general, of a tawny colour, and the women have a pale complexion, entirely deſtitute of that bloom which diſtinguiſhes our Northern beauties. The Spaniſh cuſtom of wearing black clothes continues amongſt *them*; but the men ſeem more indifferent about this, and, in ſome meaſure, dreſs like the French. In other reſpects, we found the inhabitants of Teneriffe to be a decent and very civil people, retaining that grave caſt which diſtinguiſhes thoſe of their country from other European nations. Although we do not think that there is a great ſimilarity between our manners and thoſe of the Spaniards, it is worth obſerving, that Omai did not think there was much difference. He only ſaid, that they ſeemed not ſo friendly as the Engliſh; and that, in their perſons, they approached thoſe of his countrymen."

* It was otherwiſe in Glas's time, when a few families of the *Guanches* (as they are called) remained ſtill in Teneriffe, not blended with the Spaniards. *Glas*, p. 240.

CHAP.

CHAP. III.

Departure from Teneriffe.—Danger of the Ship near Bonaviſta.—Iſle of Mayo.—Port Praya.—Precautions againſt the Rain and ſultry Weather in the Neighbourhood of the Equator.—Poſition of the Coaſt of Brazil.—Arrival at the Cape of Good Hope.—Tranſactions there.—Junction of the Diſcovery.—Mr. Anderſon's Journey up the Country.—Aſtronomical Obſervations.—Nautical Remarks on the Paſſage from England to the Cape, with regard to the Currents and the Variation.

HAVING completed our water, and got on board every other thing we wanted at Teneriffe, we weighed anchor on the 4th of Auguſt, and proceeded on our voyage, with a ſine gale at North Eaſt. 1776. Auguſt. Sunday 4.

At nine o'clock in the evening on the 10th *, we ſaw the iſland of Bonaviſta bearing South, diſtant little more than a league; though, at this time, we thought ourſelves much farther off; but this proved a miſtake. For, after hauling to the Eaſtward till twelve o'clock, to clear the ſunken rocks that lie about a league from the South Eaſt point of the iſland, we found ourſelves, at that time, cloſe upon them, Saturday 10.

* As a proof of Captain Cook's attention, both to the diſcipline and to the health of his ſhip's company, it may be worth while to obſerve here, that it appears from his log-book, *he exerciſed them at great guns and ſmall arms, and cleared and ſmoked the ſhip below decks*, twice in the interval between the 4th and the 10th of Auguſt.

and

1776. August. and did but juſt weather the breakers. Our ſituation, for a few minutes, was very alarming. I did not chuſe to ſound, as that might have heightened the danger, without any poſſibility of leſſening it. I make the North end of the iſland of Bonaviſta to lie in the latitude of 16° 17′ North, and in the longitude of 22° 59′ Weſt.

Sunday 11. As ſoon as we were clear of the rocks, we ſteered South South Weſt, till day-break next morning, and then hauled to the Weſtward, to go between Bonaviſta and the iſle of Mayo, intending to look into Port Praya for the Diſcovery, as I had told Captain Clerke that I ſhould touch there, and did not know how ſoon he might ſail after me. At one in the afternoon, we ſaw the rocks that lie on the South Weſt ſide of Bonaviſta, bearing South Eaſt, diſtant three or four leagues.

Monday 12. Next morning, at ſix o'clock, the iſle of Mayo bore South South Eaſt, diſtant about five leagues. In this ſituation we ſounded, and found ground at ſixty fathoms. At the ſame time the variation, by the mean of ſeveral azimuths taken with three different compaſſes, was 9° 32½′ Weſt. At eleven o'clock, one extreme of Mayo bore Eaſt by North, and the other South Eaſt by South. In this poſition, two roundiſh hills appeared near its North Eaſt part; farther on, a large and higher hill; and, at about two-thirds of its length, a ſingle one that is peaked. At the diſtance we now ſaw this iſland, which was three or four miles, there was not the leaſt appearance of vegetation, nor any relief to the eye from that lifeleſs brown which prevails in countries under the Torrid Zone that are unwooded.

Here I cannot help remarking that Mr. Nichelſon, in his Preface to *Sundry Remarks and Obſervations made in a Voyage to the*

the Eaſt Indies *, tells us, that " with eight degrees Weſt va- 1776. Auguſt.
" riation, or any thing above that, you may venture to ſail
" by the Cape de Verde Iſlands night or day, being well
" aſſured, with that variation, that you are to the Eaſtward
" of them." Such an aſſertion might prove of dangerous conſequence, were there any that would implicitly truſt to it. We alſo tried the current, and found one ſetting South Weſt by Weſt, ſomething more than half a mile an hour. We had reaſon to expect this, from the differences between the longitude given by the watch and dead reckoning, which, ſince our leaving Teneriffe, amounted to one degree.

While we were amongſt theſe iſlands we had light breezes of wind, varying from the South Eaſt to Eaſt, and ſome calms. This ſhews that the Cape de Verde Iſlands are either extenſive enough to break the current of the trade wind, or that they are ſituated juſt beyond its verge, in that ſpace where the variable winds, found on getting near the line, begin. The firſt ſuppoſition, however, is the moſt probable, as Dampier † found the wind weſterly here in the month of February; at which time the trade wind is ſuppoſed to extend fartheſt towards the equinoctial. The weather was hot and ſultry, with ſome rain; and, for the moſt part, a dull whiteneſs prevailed in the ſky, that ſeems a medium between fog and clouds. In general, the tropical regions ſeldom enjoy that clear atmoſphere obſervable where variable winds blow; nor does the ſun ſhine with ſuch brightneſs. This circumſtance, however, ſeems an advantage; for otherwiſe, perhaps, the rays of the ſun, being uninterrupted, would render the heat quite unſup-

* On board his Majeſty's ſhip Elizabeth, from 1758 to 1764; by William Nicholſon, Maſter of the ſaid Ship. London, 1773.

† Dampier's Voyages, Vol. iii. p. 10.

portable.

1776. August. portable. The nights are, nevertheleſs, often clear and ſerene.

Tueſday 13. At nine o'clock in the morning of the 13th, we arrived before Port Praya, in the iſland of St. Jago, where we ſaw two Dutch Eaſt India ſhips, and a ſmall brigantine at anchor. As the Diſcovery was not there, and we had expended but little water in our paſſage from Teneriffe, I did not think proper to go in, but ſtood to the Southward. Some altitudes of the Sun were now taken, to aſcertain the true time. The longitude by the watch, deduced therefrom, was 23° 48′ Weſt; the little iſland in the bay bore Weſt North Weſt, diſtant near three miles, which will make its longitude 23° 51′. The ſame watch, on my late voyage, made the longitude to be 23° 30′ Weſt; and we obſerved the latitude to be 14° 53′ 30″ North.

Wedneſ. 14. The day after we left the Cape de Verde Iſlands, we loſt the North Eaſt trade wind; but did not get that which blows
Friday 30. from the South Eaſt till the 30th, when we were in the latitude of 2° North, and in the twenty-fifth degree of Weſt longitude.

During this interval *, the wind was moſtly in the South Weſt quarter. Sometimes it blew freſh, and in ſqualls; but for the moſt part a gentle breeze. The calms were few, and of ſhort duration. Between the latitude of 12° and of 7° North, the weather was generally dark and gloomy,

* On the 18th, I ſunk a bucket with a thermometer ſeventy fathoms below the ſurface of the ſea, where it remained two minutes; and it took three minutes more to haul it up. The mercury in the thermometer was at 66, which before, in the air, ſtood at 78, and in the ſurface of the ſea at 79. The water which came up in the bucket contained, by Mr. Cavendiſh's table, $\frac{1}{25}$, 7 part ſalt; and that at the ſurface of the ſea $\frac{1}{25}$, 4. As this laſt was taken up after a ſmart ſhower of rain, it might be lighter on that account. *Captain Cook's log-book.*

with frequent rains, which enabled us to ſave as much water as filled moſt of our empty caſks. 1776. Auguſt.

Theſe rains, and the cloſe ſultry weather accompanying them, too often bring on ſickneſs in this paſſage. Every bad conſequence, at leaſt, is to be apprehended from them; and commanders of ſhips cannot be too much upon their guard, by purifying the air between decks with fires and ſmoke, and by obliging the people to dry their clothes at every opportunity. Theſe precautions were conſtantly obſerved on board the Reſolution * and Diſcovery; and we certainly profited by them, for we had now fewer ſick than on either of my former voyages. We had, however, the mortification to find our ſhip exceedingly leaky in all her upper works. The hot and ſultry weather we had juſt paſſed through, had opened her ſeams, which had been badly caulked at firſt, ſo wide, that they admitted the rain water through as it fell. There was hardly a man that could lie dry in his bed; and the officers in the gun-room were all driven out of their cabbins, by the water that came through the ſides. The ſails in the ſail-room got wet; and before we had weather to dry them, many of them were much damaged, and a great expence of canvas and of time became neceſſary to make them in ſome degree ſerviceable. Having experienced the ſame defect in our ſail-rooms on my late voyage, it had been repreſented to the yard officers, who undertook to remove it. But it did not appear to me that any thing had been done to remedy the complaint.

* The particulars are mentioned in his log-book. On the 14th of Auguſt, a fire was made in the well, to air the ſhip below. On the 15th, the ſpare ſails were aired upon deck, and a fire made to air the ſail-room. On the 17th, cleaned and ſmoked betwixt decks, and the bread-room aired with fires. On the 21ſt, cleaned and ſmoked betwixt decks; and on the 22d, the men's bedding was ſpread on deck to air.

1776. August. To repair theſe defects the caulkers were ſet to work, as ſoon as we got into fair ſettled weather, to caulk the decks and inſide weather-works of the ſhip; for I would not truſt them over the ſides while we were at ſea.

September. Sunday 1. On the firſt of September * we croſſed the Equator, in the longitude of 27° 38′ Weſt, with a fine gale at South Eaſt by South; and notwithſtanding my apprehenſions of falling in with the coaſt of Brazil in ſtretching to the South Weſt, I kept the ſhip a full point from the wind. However, I found my fears were ill-grounded; for on drawing near that coaſt, we met with the wind more and more eaſterly; ſo that, by the time we were in the latitude of 10° South, we could make a South Eaſterly courſe good.

Sunday 8. On the 8th, we were in the latitude of 8° 57′ South; which is a little to the Southward of Cape St. Auguſtine, on the coaſt of Braſil. Our longitude, deduced from a very great number of lunar obſervations, was 34° 16′ Weſt; and by the

* The afternoon, as appears from Mr. Anderſon's Journal, was ſpent in performing the old and ridiculous ceremony of ducking thoſe who had not croſſed the Equator before. Though Captain Cook did not ſuppreſs the cuſtom, he thought it too trifling to deſerve the leaſt mention of it in his Journal, or even in his log-book. Pernetty, the Writer of Bougainville's Voyage to the Falkland Iſlands, in 1763 and 1764, thought differently; for his account of the celebration of this childiſh feſtival on board his ſhip, is extended through ſeventeen pages, and makes the ſubject of an entire chapter, under the title of *Baptême de la Ligne.*

It may be worth while to tranſcribe his introduction to the deſcription of it. "Ce'ſt "un uſage qui ne remonte pas plus haut que ce voyage célébre de Gama, qui a fourni "au Camoens le ſujet de la Luſiade. L'Idée qu'on ne ſçauroit être un bon marin, "ſans avoir traverſé l'Equateur, l'ennui inſéparable d'une longue navigation, un cer- "tain eſprit republicain qui regne dans toutes les petites ſocietés, peut-être toutes ces "cauſes reunies, on pu donner naiſſance à ces eſpeces de ſaturnales. Quoiqu'il en ſoit, "elles furent adoptées, en un inſtant, dans toutes les nations, & les hommes les plus "eclairés furent obligés de ſe ſoumettre à une coutume dont ils reconnoiſſoient l'ab- "ſurdité. Car, partout, dès que le peuple parle, it faut que le ſage ſe mette à l'uniſon." *Hiſtoire d'un Voyage aux Iſles Malouines*, p. 107, 108.

watch,

watch, 34° 47′. The former is 1° 43′, and the latter 2° 14′ more Weſterly than the iſland of Fernando de Noronha, the ſituation of which was pretty well determined during my late voyage *. Hence I concluded that we could not now be farther from the continent than twenty or thirty leagues at moſt; and perhaps not much leſs, as we neither had ſoundings, nor any other ſigns of land. Dr. Halley, however, in his voyage, publiſhed by Mr. Dalrymple, tells us †, that *he made no more than one hundred and two miles, meridian diſtance, from the iſland* [Fernando de Noronha] *to the coaſt of Braſil*; and ſeems to think that *currents could not be the whole cauſe* of his making ſo little. But I rather think that he was miſtaken, and that the currents had hurried him far to the Weſtward of his intended courſe. This was, in ſome meaſure, confirmed by our own obſervations; for we had found, during three or four days preceding the 8th, that the currents ſet to the Weſtward; and, during the laſt twenty-four hours, it had ſet ſtrong to the Northward, as we experienced a difference of twenty-nine miles between our obſerved latitude and that by dead reckoning. Upon the whole, till ſome better aſtronomical obſervations are made on ſhore on the Eaſtern coaſt of Braſil, I ſhall conclude that its longitude is thirty-five degrees and a half, or thirty-ſix degrees Weſt, at moſt. 1776. September.

We proceeded on our voyage, without meeting with any thing of note, till the 6th of October. Being then in the latitude of 35° 15′ South, longitude 7° 45′ Weſt, we met with light airs and calms by turns, for three days ſucceſſively. We had, for ſome days before, ſeen albatroſſes, pintadoes, and other petrels; and here we ſaw three penguins, which October. Sunday 6.

* See Cook's Voyage, Vol. II. p. 278. † P. 11.

1776. October. occaſioned us to ſound; but we found no ground with a line of one hundred and fifty fathoms. We put a boat in the water, and ſhot a few birds; one of which was a black petrel, about the ſize of a crow, and, except as to the bill and feet, very like one. It had a few white feathers under the throat; and the under-ſide of the quill-feathers were of an aſh-colour. All the other feathers were jet black, as alſo the bill and legs.

Tueſday 8. On the 8th, in the evening, one of thoſe birds which ſailors call noddies, ſettled on our rigging, and was caught. It was ſomething larger than an Engliſh black-bird, and nearly as black, except the upper part of the head, which was white, looking as if it were powdered; the whiteſt feathers growing out from the baſe of the upper bill, from which they gradually aſſumed a darker colour, to about the middle of the upper part of the neck, where the white ſhade was loſt in the black, without being divided by any line. It was web-footed; had black legs and a black bill, which was long, and not unlike that of a curlew. It is ſaid theſe birds never fly far from land. We knew of none nearer the ſtation we were in, than Gough's or Richmond Iſland, from which our diſtance could not be leſs than one hundred leagues. But it muſt be obſerved that the Atlantic Ocean, to the Southward of this latitude, has been but little frequented; ſo that there may be more iſlands there than we are acquainted with.

We frequently, in the night, ſaw thoſe luminous marine animals mentioned and deſcribed in my firſt voyage *. Some of them ſeemed to be conſiderably larger than any I

* See Hawkeſworth's Collection of Voyages, Vol. II. p. 15.

had

had before met with; and ſometimes they were ſo numerous, that hundreds were viſible at the ſame moment. 1776. October.

This calm weather was ſucceeded by a freſh gale from the North Weſt, which laſted two days. Then we had again variable light airs for about twenty-four hours; when the North Weſt wind returned, and blew with ſuch ſtrength, that on the 17th we had ſight of the Cape of Good Hope; Thurſday 17. and the next day anchored in Table Bay, in four fathoms Friday 18. water, with the church bearing South Weſt ¼ South, and Green Point North Weſt ¼ Weſt.

As ſoon as we had received the uſual viſit from the Maſter Attendant and the Surgeon, I ſent an officer to wait on Baron Plettenberg, the Governor; and, on his return, ſaluted the garriſon with thirteen guns, which compliment was returned with the ſame number.

We found in the bay two French Eaſt India Ships; the one outward, and the other homeward bound. And two or three days before our arrival, another homeward bound ſhip of the ſame nation had parted from her cable, and been driven on ſhore at the head of the bay, where ſhe was loſt. The crew were ſaved; but the greateſt part of the cargo ſhared the ſame fate with the ſhip, or (which amounted to the ſame) was plundered and ſtolen by the inhabitants, either out of the ſhip, or as it was driven or carried on ſhore. This is the account the French officers gave to me; and the Dutch themſelves could not deny the fact. But, by way of excuſing themſelves from being guilty of a crime diſgraceful to every civilized ſtate, they endeavoured to lay the whole blame on the French Captain, for not applying in time for a guard.

As

1776. October. As ſoon as we had ſaluted, I went on ſhore, accompanied by ſome of my officers, and waited on the Governor, the Lieutenant Governor, the Fiſcal, and the Commander of the troops. Theſe gentlemen received me with the greateſt civility; and the Governor, in particular, promiſed me every aſſiſtance that the place afforded. At the ſame time I obtained his leave to ſet up our obſervatory on any ſpot I ſhould think moſt convenient; to pitch tents for the ſailmakers and coopers; and to bring the cattle on ſhore, to graze near our encampment. Before I returned on board, I ordered ſoft bread, freſh meat, and greens, to be provided, every day, for the ſhip's company.

Tueſday 22. On the 22d, we ſet up the tents and obſervatory, and began to ſend the ſeveral articles out of the ſhip which I wanted on ſhore. This could not be done ſooner, as the militia of the place were exerciſing on, or near, the ground which we were to occupy.

Wedneſ. 23. The next day, we began to obſerve equal altitudes of the Sun, in order to aſcertain the rate of the watch, or, which is the ſame thing, to find whether it had altered its rate. Theſe obſervations were continued every day, whenever the weather would permit, till the time of our departure drew near. But before this, the caulkers had been ſet to work to caulk the ſhip; and I had concerted meaſures with Meſſrs. Brandt and Chiron, for ſupplying both ſhips with ſuch proviſions as I ſhould want. Bakers, likewiſe, had been ordered, immediately after our arrival, to bake ſuch a quantity of bread as I thought would be requiſite. s faſt as the ſeveral articles deſtined for the Reſolution were got ready, they were carried on board.

On the 26th, the French ſhip ſailed for Europe, and by her, we ſent letters to England. The next day, the Hampſhire Eaſt India ſhip, from Bencoolen, anchored in the bay, and ſaluted us with thirteen guns, which we returned with eleven. 1776. October. Saturday 26. Sunday 27.

Nothing remarkable happened till the evening of the 31ſt, when it came on to blow exceſſively hard at South Eaſt, and continued for three days; during which time there was no communication between the ſhip and the ſhore. The Reſolution was the only ſhip in the bay that rode out the gale without dragging her anchors. We felt its effects as ſenſibly on ſhore. Our tents and obſervatory were torn to pieces; and our aſtronomical quadrant narrowly eſcaped irreparable damage. On the 3d of November the ſtorm ceaſed, and the next day we reſumed our different employments. Thurſday 31. November. Sunday 3.

On the 6th, the Hampſhire India ſhip ſailed for England. In her I ſent home an invalid, whom Captain Trimble was ſo obliging as to receive on board. I was afterwards ſorry that I had not availed myſelf of this opportunity to part with two or three more of my crew, who were troubled with different complaints; but, at this time, there was ſome hope of their health being re-eſtabliſhed. Wedneſ. 6.

In the morning of the 10th, the Diſcovery arrived in the bay. Captain Clerke informed me that he had ſailed from Plymouth on the 1ſt of Auguſt, and ſhould have been with us here a week ſooner, if the late gale of wind had not blown him off the coaſt. Upon the whole, he was ſeven days longer in his paſſage from England than we had been. He had the misfortune to loſe one of his marines, by falling over-board; but there had been no other mortality amongſt his people, and they now arrived well and healthy. Sunday 10.

Captain

1776. November.

Monday 11.

Captain Clerke having repreſented to me that his ſhip was in want of caulking; that no time might be loſt in repairing this defect, next day I ſent all my workmen on board her, having already completed this ſervice on board the Reſolution. I lent every other aſſiſtance to the Captain to expedite his ſupply of proviſions and water, having given him an order to receive on board as much of both articles as he could conveniently ſtow. I now found that the bakers had failed in baking the bread I had ordered for the Diſcovery. They pretended a want of flour; but the truth was, they were doubtful of her coming, and did not care to begin, till they ſaw her at anchor in the bay.

Thurſday 14.

I have before made mention of our getting our cattle on ſhore. The bull and two cows, with their calves, were ſent to graze along with ſome other cattle; but I was adviſed to keep our ſheep, ſixteen in number, cloſe to our tents, where they were penned up every night. During the night preceding the 14th, ſome dogs having got in amongſt them, forced them out of the pen, killing four, and diſperſing the reſt. Six of them were recovered the next day; but the two rams, and two of the fineſt ewes in the whole flock, were amongſt thoſe miſſing. Baron Plettenberg being now in the country, I applied to the Lieutenant Governor, Mr. Hemmy, and to the Fiſcal. Both theſe Gentlemen promiſed to uſe their endeavours for the recovery of the loſt ſheep. The Dutch, we know, boaſt that the police at the Cape is ſo carefully executed, that it is hardly poſſible for a ſlave, with all his cunning and knowledge of the country, to effectuate his eſcape. Yet my ſheep evaded all the vigilance of the Fiſcal's officers and people. However, after much trouble and expence, by employing ſome of the meaneſt and loweſt ſcoundrels in the place (who, to uſe the phraſe of the perſon who

recommended this method to me, would, for a ducatoon, cut their maſter's throat, burn the houſe over his head, and bury him and the whole family in the aſhes), I recovered them all but the two ewes. Of theſe I never could hear the leaſt tidings; and I gave over all enquiry after them, when I was told, that ſince I had got the two rams, I might think myſelf very well off. One of theſe, however, was ſo much hurt by the dogs, that there was reaſon to believe he would never recover. 1776. November.

Mr. Hemmy very obligingly offered to make up this loſs, by giving me a Spaniſh ram, out of ſome that he had ſent for from Liſbon. But I declined the offer, under a perſuaſion that it would anſwer my purpoſe full as well, to take with me ſome of the Cape rams: the event proved, that I was under a miſtake. This Gentleman has taken ſome pains to introduce European ſheep at the Cape; but his endeavours, as he told me, have been fruſtrated by the obſtinacy of the country people, who hold their own breed in greater eſtimation, on account of their large tails, of the fat of which they ſometimes make more money than of the whole carcaſs beſides *; and think that the wool of European ſheep will, by no means, make up for their deficiency in this reſpect. Indeed, I have heard ſome ſenſible men here make the ſame obſervation. And there ſeems to be foundation for it. For, admitting that European ſheep were

* "The moſt remarkable thing in the Cape ſheep, is the length and thickneſs of their tails, which weigh from fifteen to twenty pounds. The fat is not ſo tallowiſh as that of European mutton, and the poorer ſort uſe it for butter." *Kolben's Cape of Good Hope* [Engliſh tranſlation], Vol. II. p. 65. De la Caille, who finds every thing wrong in Kolben, ſays, the weight of the tails of the Cape ſheep is not above five or ſix pounds. *Voyage de la Caille*, p. 343. If the information given to Captain Cook may be depended upon, it will prove that, in this inſtance at leaſt, Kolben is unjuſtly accuſed of exaggeration.

1775. November. to produce wool of the ſame quality here as in Europe, which experience has ſhewn not to be the caſe, the Dutch have not hands, at the Cape of Good Hope, to ſpare for the manufacturing even their own clothing. It is certain that, were it not for the continual importation of ſlaves, this ſettlement would be thinner of people than any other inhabited part of the world.

While the ſhips were getting ready for the proſecution of our voyage, ſome of our officers made an excurſion to take a view of the neighbouring country. Mr. Anderſon, my Surgeon, who was one of the party, gave me the following relation of their proceedings *:

Saturday 16. "On the 16th, in the forenoon, I ſet out in a waggon, with five more, to take a view of ſome part of the country. We croſſed the large plain that lies to the Eaſtward of the town, which is entirely a white ſand, like that commonly found on beaches, and produces only heath, and other ſmall plants of various ſorts. At five in the afternoon we paſſed a large farm-houſe, with ſome corn-fields, and pretty conſiderable vineyards, ſituated beyond the plain, near the foot of ſome low hills, where the ſoil becomes worth cultivating. Between ſix and ſeven we arrived at Stellenboſh, the colony next to that of the Cape for its importance.

The village does not conſiſt of more than thirty houſes, and ſtands at the foot of the range of lofty mountains,

* In the Philoſophical Tranſactions, Vol. lxvi. p. 268 to 319, is an *Account of Three Journies from the Cape Town into the Southern Parts of Africa*, in 1772, 1773, and 1774; by Mr. Francis Maſſon, who had been ſent from England for the diſcovery of new plants, towards the improvement of the Royal Botanical Garden at Kew. Much curious information is contained in Mr. Maſſon's account of theſe journies. M. de Pagés, who was at the Cape in 1773, gives ſome remarks on the ſtate of that ſettlement, and alſo the particulars of his journey from Falſe Bay to the Cape Town. *Voyage vers le Pole du Sud*, p. 17 to 32.

above

above twenty miles to the Eaſtward of the Cape Town. The houſes are neat; and, with the advantage of a rivulet which runs near, and the ſhelter of ſome large oaks, planted at its firſt ſettling, forms what may be called a rural proſpect in this deſert country. There are ſome vineyards and orchards about the place, which, from their thriving appearance, ſeem to indicate an excellent ſoil; though, perhaps, they owe much to climate, as the air here has an uncommon ſerenity. 1776. November.

I employed the next day in ſearching for plants and inſects about Stellenboſh, but had little ſucceſs. Few plants are in flower here at this ſeaſon, and inſects but ſcarce. I examined the ſoil in ſeveral places, and found it to conſiſt of yellowiſh clay, mixed with a good deal of ſand. The ſides of the low hills, which appear brown, ſeem to be conſtituted of a ſort of ſtone marle. Sunday 17.

We left Stellenboſh next morning, and ſoon arrived at the houſe we had paſſed on Saturday; the owner of which, Mr. Cloeder, had ſent us an invitation, the evening before, to viſit him. This Gentleman entertained us with the greateſt hoſpitality, and in a manner very different from what we expected. He received us with muſic; and a band alſo played while we were at dinner; which, conſidering the ſituation of the place, might be reckoned elegant. He ſhewed us his wine-cellars, his orchards, and vineyards; all which, I muſt own, inſpired me with a wiſh to know in what manner theſe induſtrious people could create ſuch plenty, in a ſpot where, I believe, no other European nation would have attempted to ſettle. Monday 18.

In the afternoon we croſſed the country, and paſſed a few plantations, one of which ſeemed very conſiderable, and was

1776. November. laid out in a taſte ſomewhat different from any other we ſaw. In the evening we arrived at a farm-houſe, which is the firſt in the cultivated tract called the *Pearl*. We had, at the ſame time, a view of Drakenſtein, the third colony of this country, which lies along by the foot of the lofty hills already mentioned, and contains ſeveral farms or plantations, not very extenſive.

Tueſday 19. I went, on the 19th in the forenoon, in queſt of plants and inſects, which I found almoſt as ſcarce as at Stellenboſh; but I met with more ſhrubs or ſmall trees, naturally produced, in the valleys, than in any part of the country I had hitherto ſeen.

In the afternoon, we went to ſee a ſtone of a remarkable ſize, called by the inhabitants the Tower of Babylon, or the Pearl Diamond *. It lies, or ſtands, upon the top of ſome low hills, at the foot of which our farm-houſe was ſituated; and though the road to it is neither very ſteep nor rugged, we were above an hour and a half in walking to it. It is of an oblong ſhape, rounded on the top, and lies nearly South and North. The Eaſt and Weſt ſides are ſteep, and al-

* In the Philoſophical Tranſactions, Vol. lxviii. Part I. p. 102. we have a Letter from Mr. Anderſon to Sir John Pringle, deſcribing this remarkable ſtone. The account ſent home from the Cape, and read before the Royal Society, is much the ſame with that now publiſhed, but rather fuller. In particular, he tells Sir John, that he went to ſee it *at Mr. Maſſon's deſire*, who, probably, had not had an opportunity of ſufficiently examining it himſelf. In the account of his journies, above referred to, p. 270, he only ſays, "*there are two large ſolid rocks on the Perel Berg, each of which (he believes) is more than a mile in circumference at the baſe, and upwards of two hundred feet high. Their ſurfaces are nearly ſmooth, without chink or fiſſures; and they are found to be a ſpecies of granite, different from that which compoſes the neighbouring mountains.*"

Mr. Anderſon having, with his Letter to Sir John Pringle, alſo ſent home a ſpecimen of the rock, it was examined by Sir William Hamilton, whoſe opinion is, that "*this ſingular, immenſe fragment of granite, moſt probably has been raiſed by a volcanic exploſion, or ſome ſuch cauſe.*" See his Letter to Sir John Pringle, annexed to Mr. Anderſon's, in the Philoſophical Tranſactions.

moſt perpendicular. The South end is likewiſe ſteep, and its greateſt height is there; from whence it declines gently to the North part, by which we aſcended to its top, and had an extenſive view of the whole country. 1776. November.

Its circumference, I think, muſt be at leaſt half a mile; as it took us above half an hour to walk round it, including every allowance for the bad road, and ſtopping a little. At its higheſt part, which is the South end, comparing it with a known object, it ſeems to equal the dome of St. Paul's church. It is one uninterrupted maſs or ſtone, if we except ſome fiſſures, or rather impreſſions, not above three or four feet deep, and a vein which runs acroſs near its North end. It is of that ſort of ſtone called, by Mineralogiſts, *Saxum conglutinatum*, and conſiſts chiefly of pieces of coarſe *quartz* and *glimmer*, held together by a clayey cement. But the vein which croſſes it, though of the ſame materials, is much compacter. This vein is not above a foot broad or thick; and its ſurface is cut into little ſquares or oblongs, diſpoſed obliquely, which makes it look like the remains of ſome artificial work. But I could not obſerve whether it penetrated far into the large rock, or was only ſuperficial. In deſcending, we found at its foot a very rich black mould; and on the ſides of the hills, ſome trees of a conſiderable ſize, natives of the place, which are a ſpecies of *olea* *.

In

* It is ſtrange that neither Kolben nor de la Caille ſhould have thought the *Tower of Babylon* worthy of a particular deſcription. The former [Vol. II. p. 52, 53, Engliſh Tranſlation] only mentions it as a *high mountain*. The latter contents himſelf with telling us, that it is a very low hillock, *un tres bas monticule*. *Voyage de la Caille*, p. 341. We are much obliged to Mr. Anderſon for his very accurate account of this remarkable rock, which agrees with Mr. Sonnerat's, who was at the Cape of Good Hope ſo late as 1781. His words are, "La Montagne de la *Perle*, merite d'être obſervée. C'eſt un des plus hautes des environs du Cap. Elle n'eſt compoſée que d'un

1776. November. Wedneſ. 20. In the morning on the 20th, we ſet out from the *Pearl*; and going a different road from that by which we came, paſſed through a country wholly uncultivated, till we got to the *Tyger* hills, when ſome tolerable corn-fields appeared. At noon, we ſtopped in a hollow for refreſhment; but, in walking about here, were plagued with a vaſt number of muſquitoes or ſand flies, which were the firſt I ſaw in the country. In the afternoon we ſet out again, and in the evening arrived at the Cape Town, tired with the jolting waggon."

Saturday 23. On the 23d, we got on board the obſervatory, clock, &c. By a mean of the ſeveral reſults of the equal altitudes of the Sun, taken with the aſtronomical quadrant, the aſtronomical clock was found to loſe on ſidereal time, $1'\ 8'',368$ each day. The pendulum was kept at the ſame length as at Greenwich, where the daily loſs of the clock on ſidereal time, was $4''$.

The watch, by the mean of the reſults of fifteen days obſervations, was found to be loſing $2'',261$, on mean time, each day; which is $1'',052$ more than at Greenwich: and on the 21ſt, at noon, ſhe was too ſlow for mean time by $1^h.\ 20'\ 57'',66$. From this, $6'\ 48'',956$, is to be ſubſtracted, for what ſhe was too ſlow on the 11th of June at Greenwich, and her daily rate ſince; and the remainder, *viz.* $1^h.\ 14'.\ 08'',704$, or $18°\ 32'\ 10''$, will be the longitude of the Cape Town by the watch. Its true longitude, as found by Meſſrs. Maſon and Dixon, is

"d'un ſeul bloc de granit crevaſſé dans pluſieurs endroits." *Voyage aux Indes*, Tom. II. p. 91.

Mr. Sonnerat tells us, that Mr. Gordon, Commander of the troops at the Cape, had lately made three journies up the country, from which, when he publiſhes his Journal, we may expect much curious information.

28° 23′ 15″. As our obſervations were made about half a mile to the Eaſt of theirs, the error of the watch, in longitude, is no more than 8′ 25″. Hence we have reaſon to conclude, that ſhe had gone well all the way from England, and that the longitude, thus given, may be nearer the truth than any other. 1776. November.

If this be admitted, it will, in a great meaſure, enable me to find the direction and ſtrength of the currents we met with on this paſſage from England. For, by comparing the latitude and longitude by dead reckoning, with thoſe by obſervation and the watch, we ſhall, from time to time, have, very accurately, the error of the ſhip's reckoning, be the cauſe what it will. But as all imaginable care was taken in heaving and keeping the log, and every neceſſary allowance made for lee-way, heave of the ſea, and other ſuch circumſtances, I cannot attribute thoſe errors that did happen, to any other cauſe but currents; but more particularly when the error was conſtantly the ſame way, for ſeveral days ſucceſſively.

On the contrary, if we find the ſhip a-head of the reckoning on one day, and a-ſtern of it on another, we have reaſon to believe that ſuch errors are owing to accidental cauſes, and not to currents. This ſeems to have been the caſe in our paſſage between England and Teneriffe. But, from the time of our leaving that iſland, till the 15th of Auguſt, being then in the latitude of 12° North, and longitude 24° Weſt, the ſhip was carried 1° 20′ of longitude to the Weſtward of her reckoning. At this ſtation, the currents took a contrary direction, and ſet to Eaſt South Eaſt, at the rate of twelve or fourteen miles a day, or twenty-four hours, till we arrived into the latitude of 5° North, and longitude of 20° Weſt; which was our moſt Eaſterly ſituation

1776. November. tion after leaving the Cape de Verde Iſlands, till we got to the Southward. For in this ſituation the wind came Southerly, and we tacked and ſtretched to the Weſtward; and, for two or three days, could not find that our reckoning was affected by any current. So that, I judged, we were between the current that generally, if not conſtantly, ſets to the Eaſt upon the coaſt of Guinea, and that which ſets to the Weſt towards the coaſt of Braſil.

This Weſterly current was not conſiderable till we got into 2° North, and 25° Weſt. From this ſtation, to 3° South and 30° Weſt, the ſhip, in the ſpace of four days, was carried one hundred and fifteen miles in the direction of South Weſt by Weſt, beyond her reckoning; an error by far too great to have any other cauſe but a ſtrong current running in the ſame direction. Nor did its ſtrength abate here; but its courſe was, afterward, more Weſterly, and to the North of Weſt; and off Cape Auguſtine, North, as I have already mentioned. But this Northerly current did not exiſt at twenty or thirty leagues to the Southward of that Cape; nor any other, that I could perceive, in the remaining part of the paſſage. The little difference we afterward found between the reckoning and obſervations, might very well happen without the aſſiſtance of currents; as will appear by the Table of Days Works.

In the account of my laſt voyage *, I remarked, that the currents one meets with in this paſſage generally balance each other. It happened ſo then; becauſe we croſſed the line about 20° more to the Eaſtward than we did now; ſo that we were, of conſequence, longer under the influence of the Eaſterly current, which made up for the Weſterly one.

* Captain Cook's Voyage, Vol. I. p. 14.

And

And this, I apprehend, will generally be the caſe, if you croſs the line 10° or 15° to the Eaſt of the meridian of St. Jago. 1776. November.

From theſe remarks I ſhall draw the following concluſion, That, after paſſing the Cape de Verde Iſland, if you do not make above 4° or 5° Eaſting, and croſs the line in, or to the Weſtward of, the meridian of St. Jago, you may expect to find your ſhip 3° or 4° to the Weſtward of her reckoning, by the time you get into the latitude of 10° South. If, on the other hand, you keep well to the Eaſt, and croſs the line 15° or 20° to the Eaſt of St. Jago, you will be then as much to the Eaſt of your reckoning; and the more you keep to the Eaſtward, the greater will be your error; as has been experienced by ſome India ſhips, whoſe people have found themſelves cloſe upon the coaſt of Angola, when they thought its diſtance was above two hundred leagues.

During the whole of our paſſage from England, no opportunity was omitted of obſerving, with all the attention and accuracy that circumſtances would permit, the variation of the compaſs, which I have inſerted in a Table, with the latitude and longitude of the ſhip at the time of obſervation. As the longitude may be depended upon, to a quarter or half a degree at moſt, this Table will be of uſe to thoſe navigators who correct their reckoning by the variation. It will alſo enable Mr. Dun to correct his new Variation Chart, a thing very much wanted.

It ſeems ſtrange to me, that the advocates for the variation ſhould not agree amongſt themſelves. We find one * of them telling us, as I have already obſerved, *that with 8° Weſt variation, or any thing above that, you may venture to ſail by the*

* Nichelſon.

1776. November. *Cape de Verde Iſlands, by night or day, being well aſſured, with that variation, that you are to the Eaſtward of them.* Another, in his Chart *, lays down this variation ninety leagues to the Weſtward of them. Such a diſagreement as this, is a ſtrong proof of the uncertainty of both. However, I have no doubt, the former found here, as well as in other places, the variation he mentions. But he ſhould have conſidered, that at ſea, nay even on land, the reſults of the moſt accurate obſervations will not always be the ſame. Different compaſſes will give different variations; and even the ſame compaſs will differ from itſelf two degrees, without our being able to diſcover, much leſs to remove, the cauſe.

Whoever imagines he can find the variation within a degree, will very often ſee himſelf much deceived. For, beſides the imperfection which may be in the conſtruction of the inſtrument, or in the power of the needle, it is certain that the motion of the ſhip, or attraction of the iron-work, or ſome other cauſe not yet diſcovered, will frequently occaſion far greater errors than this. That the variation may be found, with a ſhare of accuracy more than ſufficient to determine the ſhip's courſe, is allowed; but that it can be found ſo exactly as to fix the longitude within a degree, or ſixty miles, I abſolutely deny.

* Mr. Dun.

KERGUELEN'S LAND
called by C. Cook
INLAND of DESOLATION.
Cap Louis
Baye D'AUDIERNE
Royal Sound
Prince Edward Isles
Islands discovered by M. Marion du Fresne 1772 called by C. Cook in 1776 PRINCE EDWARD ISLES
Lat 46° 53' S
Long 37° 46' E
Lat 46° 10' S
Long 38° 0' E
English Miles

CHAP. IV.

The two Ships leave the Cape of Good Hope.—Two Iſlands, named Prince Edward's, ſeen, and their Appearance deſcribed.—Kerguelen's Land viſited.—Arrival in Chriſtmas Harbour.—Occurrences there.—Deſcription of it.

AFTER the diſaſter which happened to our ſheep, it may be well ſuppoſed I did not truſt thoſe that remained, long on ſhore; but got them, and the other cattle, on board as faſt as poſſible. I alſo added to my original ſtock, by purchaſing two young bulls, two heifers, two young ſtone-horſes, two mares, two rams, ſeveral ewes and goats, and ſome rabbits and poultry. All of them were intended for New Zealand, Otaheite, and the neighbouring iſlands, or any other places, in the courſe of our voyage, where there might be a proſpect that the leaving any of them would be uſeful to poſterity. 1776. November.

Towards the latter end of November, the caulkers had finiſhed their work on board the Diſcovery, and ſhe had received all her proviſions and water. Of the former, both ſhips had a ſupply ſufficient for two years and upwards. And every other article we could think of, neceſſary for ſuch a voyage, that could be had at the Cape, was procured; neither knowing when, nor where, we might come to a place where we could furniſh ourſelves ſo well.

1776. November. Saturday 30. Having given Captain Clerke a copy of my inſtructions, and an order directing him how to proceed in caſe of ſeparation; in the morning of the 30th, we repaired on board. At five in the afternoon a breeze ſprung up at South Eaſt, with which we weighed, and ſtood out of the bay. At nine it fell calm, and we anchored between Penguin Iſland and the Eaſt ſhore, where we lay till three o'clock next morning. We then weighed and put to ſea, with a light breeze at South; but did not get clear of the land till the morning of the 3d, when, with a freſh gale at Weſt North Weſt, we ſtood to the South Eaſt, to get more into the way of theſe winds.

December. Sunday 1. Tueſday 3.

Thurſday 5. On the 5th, a ſudden ſquall of wind carried away the Reſolution's mizen top-maſt. Having another to replace it, the loſs was not felt; eſpecially as it was a bad ſtick, and had often complained. On the 6th, in the evening, being then in the latitude of 39° 14′ South, and in the longitude of 23° 56′ Eaſt, we paſſed through ſeveral ſmall ſpots of water of a reddiſh colour. Some of this was taken up; and it was found to abound with a ſmall animal, which the microſcope diſcovered to be like a cray-fiſh, of a reddiſh hue.

Friday 6.

We continued our courſe to the South Eaſt, with a very ſtrong gale from the Weſtward, followed by a mountainous ſea; which made the ſhip roll and tumble exceedingly, and gave us a great deal of trouble to preſerve the cattle we had on board. Notwithſtanding all our care, ſeveral goats, eſpecially the males, died; and ſome ſheep. This misfortune was, in a great meaſure, owing to the cold, which we now began moſt ſenſibly to feel.

Thurſday 12. On the 12th, at noon, we ſaw land extending from South Eaſt by South, to South Eaſt by Eaſt. Upon a nearer approach,

proach, we found it to be two iſlands. That which lies moſt to the South, and is alſo the largeſt, I judged to be about fifteen leagues in circuit; and to be in the latitude of 46° 53′ South, and in the longitude of 37° 46′ Eaſt. The moſt Northerly one is about nine leagues in circuit; and lies in the latitude of 46° 40′ South, and in 38° 8′ Eaſt longitude. The diſtance from the one to the other is about five leagues. 1776. December.

We paſſed through this channel, at equal diſtance from both iſlands; and could not diſcover, with the aſſiſtance of our beſt glaſſes, either tree or ſhrub on either of them. They ſeemed to have a rocky and bold ſhore; and, excepting the South Eaſt parts, where the land is rather low and flat, a ſurface compoſed of barren mountains, which riſe to a conſiderable height, and whoſe ſummits and ſides were covered with ſnow, which in many places ſeemed to be of a conſiderable depth. The South Eaſt parts had a much greater quantity on them than the reſt; owing, probably, to the Sun acting for a leſs ſpace of time on theſe than on the North and North Weſt parts. The ground, where it was not hid by the ſnow, from the various ſhades it exhibited, may be ſuppoſed to be covered with moſs, or, perhaps, ſuch a coarſe graſs as is found in ſome parts of Falkland's Iſlands. On the North ſide of each of the iſlands is a detached rock: that near the South iſland is ſhaped like a tower, and ſeemed to be at ſome diſtance from the ſhore. As we paſſed along, a quantity of ſea-weed was ſeen, and the colour of the water indicated ſoundings. But there was no appearance of an inlet, unleſs near the rock juſt mentioned; and that, from its ſmallneſs, did not promiſe a good anchoring-place.

Theſe

1776. December.

Theſe two iſlands, as alſo four others which lie from nine to twelve degrees of longitude more to the Eaſt, and nearly in the ſame latitude, were diſcovered, as I have mentioned in my late Voyage *, by Captains Marion du Freſne, and Crozet, French Navigators, in January 1772, on their paſſage in two ſhips from the Cape of Good Hope to the Philippine Iſlands. As they have no names in the French chart of the Southern hemiſphere, which Captain Crozet communicated to me in 1775 †, I ſhall diſtinguiſh the two we now ſaw, by calling them Prince Edward's Iſlands, after his Majeſty's fourth ſon; and the other four, by the name of Marion's and Crozet's Iſlands, to commemorate their diſcoverers.

We had now, for the moſt part, ſtrong gales between the North and Weſt, and but very indifferent weather; not better, indeed, than we generally have in England in the very depth of Winter, though it was now the middle of Summer in this hemiſphere. Not diſcouraged, however, by this, after leaving Prince Edward's Iſlands, I ſhaped our courſe to paſs to the Southward of the others, that I might get into the latitude of the land diſcovered by Monſieur de Kerguelen.

I had applied to the Chevalier de Borda, whom, as I have mentioned, I found at Teneriffe, requeſting, that if he knew any thing of the iſland diſcovered by Monſieur de Kerguelen, between the Cape of Good Hope and New Holland, he

* *Captain Cook's Voyage*, Vol. ii. p. 266. Theſe iſlands are there ſaid to be in the latitude of 48° South; that is, two degrees farther South, than what here appears to be their real poſition.

† See Cook's Voyage, as above. Dr. Forſter, in his *obſervations made during that voyage*, p. 30, gives us this deſcription of the Chart then communicated by Monſieur Crozet: that it was *publiſhed under the patronage of the Duke de Croye, by Robert de Vaugondy*. Captain Cook tells us lower in this Chapter, that it was publiſhed in 1773.

would

would be ſo obliging as to communicate it to me. Accordingly, juſt before we ſailed from Santa Cruz bay, he ſent me the following account of it, *viz.* " That the Pilot of the " Bouſſole, who was in the voyage with Monſieur de Ker- " guelen, had given him the latitude and longitude of a " little iſland, which Monſieur de Kerguelen called the " Iſle of Rendezvous, and which lies not far from the " great iſland which he ſaw. Latitude of the little iſle, by " ſeven obſervations, 48° 26′ South; longitude, by ſeven ob- " ſervations of the diſtance of the Sun and Moon, 64° 57′ " Eaſt from Paris." I was very ſorry I had not ſooner known that there was on board the frigate at Teneriffe, an officer who had been with Monſieur de Kerguelen, eſpecially the Pilot; becauſe from him I might have obtained more intereſting information about this land than the ſituation alone, of which I was not before entirely ignorant *.

1776. December.

My

* Captain Cook's proceedings, as related in the remaining part of this Chapter, and in the next, being upon a coaſt newly diſcovered by the French, it could not but be an object of his attention to trace the footſteps of the original explorers. But no ſuperiority of profeſſional ſkill, nor diligence in exerting it, could poſſibly qualify him to do this ſucceſsfully, without poſſeſſing, at the ſame time, full and authentic intelligence of all that had been performed here by his predeceſſors in the diſcovery. But that he was not ſo fortunate as to be thus ſufficiently inſtructed, will appear from the following facts, which the Reader is requeſted to attend to, before he proceeds to the peruſal of this part of the Journal.

How very little was known, with any preciſion, about the operations of Kerguelen, when Captain Cook ſailed in 1776, may be inferred from the following paragraph of his Inſtructions: " You are to proceed in ſearch of ſome iſlands *ſaid to have been lately* " *ſeen* by the French in the latitude of 48° South, and in the meridian of Mauri- " tius (*a*)." This was, barely, the amount of the very indefinite and imperfect information, which Captain Cook himſelf had received from Baron Plettenberg at the Cape of Good Hope, in November 1772 (*b*); in the beginning of which year Kerguelen's *firſt* voyage had taken place.

(*a*) See the Inſtructions in the Introduction.
(*b*) See Captain Cook's Voyage, Vol. i. p. 16.

The

1776. December. My inſtructions directing me to examine it, with a view to diſcover a good harbour, I proceeded in the ſearch; and on

The Captain, on his return homeward, in March 1775, heard, a ſecond time, ſomething about this French diſcovery at the Cape, where he met with Monſieur Crozet, who *very obligingly communicated to him* a Chart of the Southern Hemiſphere, *wherein were delineated not only his own diſcoveries, but alſo that of Captain Kerguelen* (*a*). But what little information that Chart could convey, was ſtill neceſſarily confined to the operations of the firſt voyage; the Chart here referred to, having been publiſhed in France in 1773; that is, before any intelligence could poſſibly be conveyed from the Southern Hemiſphere of the reſult of Kerguelen's ſecond viſit to this new land; which, we now know, happened towards the cloſe of the ſame year.

Of theſe latter operations, the only account (if that can be called an account, which conveys no particular information) received by Captain Cook from Monſieur Crozet, was, *that a later Voyage had been undertaken by the French, under the command of Captain Kerguelen, which had ended much to the diſgrace of that commander* (*b*).

What Crozet had *not* communicated to our Author, and what we are ſure, from a variety of circumſtances, he had *never* heard of from any other quarter, he miſſed an opportunity of learning at Teneriffe. He expreſſes his being ſorry, as we have juſt read, *that he did not know ſooner that there was on board the frigate an officer who had been with Kerguelen, as he might have obtained from him more intereſting information about this land, than its ſituation.* And, indeed, if he had converſed with that officer, he might have obtained information *more intereſting* than he was aware of; he might have learnt that Kerguelen had actually viſited this Southern land a ſecond time, and that the little iſle of which he then received the name and poſition from the Chevalier de Borda, was a diſcovery of this later voyage. But the account conveyed to him being, as the Reader will obſerve, unaccompanied with any date, or other diſtinguiſhing circumſtance, he left Teneriffe, and arrived on the coaſts of Kerguelen's Land, under a full perſuaſion that it had been viſited only *once* before. And even, with regard to the operations of that firſt voyage, he had nothing to guide him, but the very ſcanty materials afforded to him by Baron Plettenberg and Monſieur Crozet.

The truth is, the French ſeem, for ſome reaſon or other, not ſurely founded on the importance of Kerguelen's diſcovery, to have been very ſhy of publiſhing a full and diſtinct account of it. No ſuch account had been publiſhed while Captain Cook lived. Nay, even after the return of his ſhips in 1780, the Gentleman who obligingly lent his aſſiſtance to give a view of the prior obſervations of the French, and to connect them on the ſame Chart with thoſe of our Author, though his aſſiduity in procuring geographical information can be equalled only by his readineſs in communicating it, had not, it ſhould ſeem, been able to procure any materials for that purpoſe, but

(*a*) See Cook's Voyage, Vol. ii. p. 266. (*b*) Ibid. p. 268.

ſuch

on the 16th, being then in the latitude of 48° 45′, and in the longitude of 52° Eaſt, we ſaw penguins and divers, and rock-weed floating in the ſea. We continued to meet with more or leſs of theſe every day, as we proceeded to the Eaſtward; and on the 21ſt, in the latitude of 48° 27′ South, and in the longitude of 65° Eaſt, a very large ſeal was ſeen. We had now much foggy weather, and, as we expected to fall in with the land every hour, our navigation became both tedious and dangerous. 1776. December. Monday 16. Saturday 21.

At length, on the 24th, at ſix o'clock in the morning, as we were ſteering to the Eaſtward, the fog clearing away a little, we ſaw land *, bearing South South Eaſt, which, upon Tueſday 24.

ſuch as mark the operations of the firſt French voyage; and even for theſe, he was indebted to a MS. drawing.

But this veil of unneceſſary ſecrecy is at length drawn aſide. Kerguelen himſelf has, very lately, publiſhed the Journal of his proceedings in two ſucceſſive voyages, in the years 1772 and 1773; and has annexed to his Narrative a Chart of the coaſts of this land, as far as he had explored them in both voyages. Monſieur de Pagés, alſo, much about the ſame time, favoured us with another account of the ſecond voyage, in ſome reſpects fuller than Kerguelen's own, on board whoſe ſhip he was then an officer.

From theſe ſources of authentic information, we are enabled to draw every neceſſary material to correct what is erroneous, and to illuſtrate what, otherwiſe, would have remained obſcure, in this part of Captain Cook's Journal. We ſhall take occaſion to do this in ſeparate Notes on the paſſages as they occur, and conclude this tedious, but, it is hoped, not unneceſſary, detail of facts, with one general remark, fully expreſſive of the diſadvantages our Author laboured under. He never ſaw that part of the coaſt upon which the French had been in 1772; and he never knew that they had been upon another part of it in 1773, which was the very ſcene of his own operations. Conſequently, what he knew of the *former* voyage, as *delineated* upon Crozet's Chart, only ſerved to perplex and miſlead his judgment; and his total ignorance of the *latter*, put it out of his power to compare his own obſervations with thoſe then made by Kerguelen; though we, who are better inſtructed, can do this, by tracing the plaineſt marks of coincidence and agreement.

* Captain Cook was not the original diſcoverer of theſe ſmall iſlands which he now fell in with. It is certain that they had been ſeen and named by Kerguelen, on his ſecond voyage, in December 1773. Their poſition, relatively to each other, and

1776. December. upon a nearer approach, we found to be an iſland of conſiderable height, and about three leagues in circuit *. Soon after, we ſaw another of the ſame magnitude, one league to the Eaſtward †; and between theſe two, in the direction of South Eaſt, ſome ſmaller ones ‡. In the direction of South by Eaſt ½ Eaſt, from the Eaſt end of the firſt iſland, a third § high iſland was ſeen. At times, as the fog broke away, we had the appearance of land over the ſmall iſlands; and I had thoughts of ſteering for it, by running in between them. But, on drawing nearer, I found this would be a dangerous attempt, while the weather continued foggy. For if there ſhould be no paſſage, or if we ſhould meet with any ſudden danger, it would have been impoſſible for us to get off; the wind being right a-ſtern, and a prodigious ſea running, that broke on all the ſhores in a frightful ſurf. At the ſame time, ſeeing another iſland in the North Eaſt direction, and not knowing but that there might be more, I judged it prudent to haul off, and wait for clearer weather, leſt we ſhould get intangled amongſt unknown lands in a thick fog.

We did but juſt weather the iſland laſt mentioned. It is a highround rock, which was named Bligh's Cap. Perhaps

to the adjoining coaſts of the greater land, as repreſented on the annexed Chart, bears a ſtriking reſemblance to Kerguelen's delineation of them; whoſe Chart, however, the Public may be aſſured, was unknown in England till after ours had been engraved.

* This is the iſle to which Kerguelen gave the name of *Croy* or *Crouy*. Beſides delineating it upon his Chart, he has added a particular view of it, exactly correſponding with Captain Cook's account of its being of *conſiderable height*.

† Kerguelen called this *Iſle Rolland*, after the name of his own ſhip. There is alſo a particular view of it on the French Chart.

‡ The obſervations of the French and Engliſh navigators agree exactly, as to the poſition of theſe ſmaller iſles.

§ The ſituation of Kerguelen's *Iſle de Clugny*, as marked on his Chart, ſhews it to be the *third high iſland* ſeen by Captain Cook.

this

this is the ſame that Monſieur de Kerguelen called the Iſle of Rendezvous *; but I know nothing that can rendezvous at it, but fowls of the air; for it is certainly inacceſſible to every other animal. 1776. December.

At eleven o'clock the weather began to clear up, and we immediately tacked, and ſteered in for the land. At noon, we had a pretty good obſervation, which enabled us to determine the latitude of Bligh's Cap, which is the northernmoſt iſland, to be 48° 29′ South, and its longitude 68° 40′ Eaſt †. We paſſed it at three o'clock, ſtanding to the South South Eaſt, with a freſh gale at Weſt.

Soon after we ſaw the land, of which we had a faint view in the morning; and at four o'clock it extended from South Eaſt ¼ Eaſt, to South Weſt by South, diſtant about four miles. The left extreme, which I judged to be the Northern point of this land called, in the French Chart of the Southern

* This iſle, or *rock*, was the ſingle point about which Captain Cook had received the leaſt information at Teneriffe; and we may obſerve how ſagacious he was in tracing it. What he could only ſpeak of as *probable*, a compariſon of his Chart with that lately publiſhed by Kerguelen, proves to be certain; and if he had even read and copied what his predeceſſor in the diſcovery ſays of it, he could ſcarcely have varied his account of its ſhape. Kerguelen's words are, "*Iſle de Reunion*, qui n'eſt qu'une "*Roche*, nous ſervoit *de Rendezvous*, ou de point de ralliement; & reſſemble à un "*coin de mire*."

† The French and Engliſh agree very nearly (as might be expected) in their accounts of the latitude of this iſland; but the obſervations by which they fix its longitude, vary conſiderably.

The Pilot at Teneriffe made it only 64° 57′ Eaſt from Paris, which is about 67° 16′ Eaſt from London; or 1° 24′ more Weſterly than Captain Cook's obſervations fix it.

Monſieur de Pagés ſays it is 66° 47′ Eaſt from Paris, that is 69° 6′ Eaſt from London, or twenty-ſix miles more Eaſterly than it is placed by Captain Cook.

Kerguelen himſelf only ſays that it is *about* 68° of Eaſt longitude, *par* 68° *de longitude*.

1776. December. Hemiſphere, Cape St. Louis *, terminated in a perpendicular rock of a conſiderable height; and the right one (near which is a detached rock) in a high indented point †. From this point the coaſt ſeemed to turn ſhort round to the Southward; for we could ſee no land to the Weſtward of the direction in which it now bore to us, but the iſlands we had obſerved in the morning; the moſt Southerly ‡ of them lying nearly Weſt from the point, about two or three leagues diſtant.

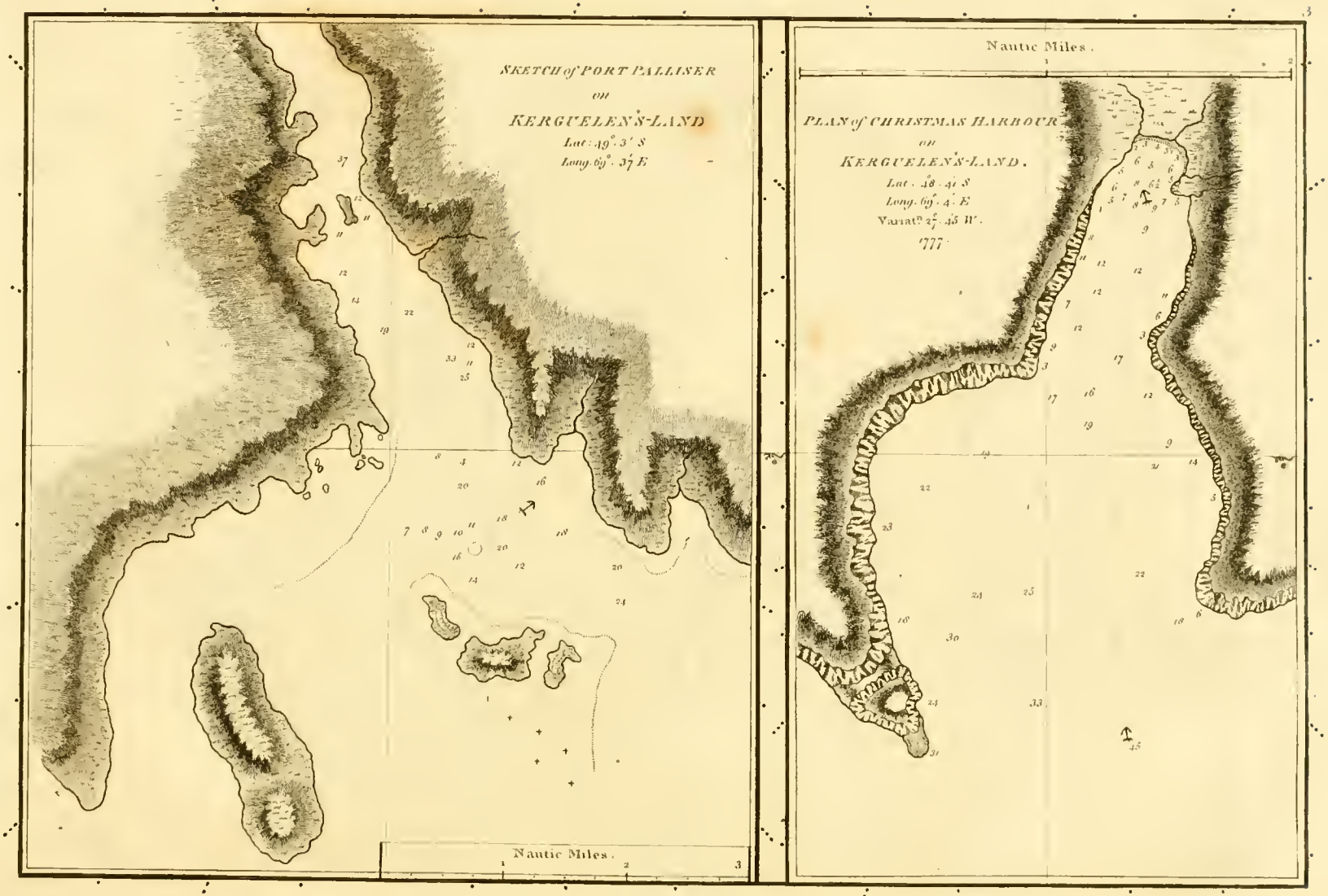
About the middle of the land there appeared to be an inlet, for which we ſteered; but, on approaching, found it was only a bending in the coaſt, and therefore bore up, to go round Cape St. Louis §. Soon after, land opened off the

* Hitherto, we have only had occaſion to ſupply defects, owing to Captain Cook's *entire* ignorance of Kerguelen's ſecond voyage in 1773; we muſt now correct errors, owing to his very limited knowledge of the operations of the firſt voyage in 1772. The Chart of the Southern Hemiſphere, his only guide, having given him, as he tells us, the name of Cape St. Louis (or Cape Louis) as the moſt Northerly promontory then ſeen by the French; and his own obſervations now ſatisfying him that no part of the main land ſtretched farther North than the *left extreme* now before him; from this ſuppoſed ſimilarity of ſituation, he *judged* that his own *perpendicular rock* muſt be the Cape Louis of the firſt diſcoverers. By looking upon our Chart, we ſhall find Cape Louis lying upon a very different part of the coaſt; and by comparing this Chart with that lately publiſhed by Kerguelen, it will appear, in the cleareſt manner, that the Northern point now deſcribed by Captain Cook, is the very ſame to which the French have given the name of Cape François.

† This *right extreme* of the coaſt, as it now ſhewed itſelf to Captain Cook, ſeems to be what is repreſented on Kerguelen's Chart under the name of Cape Aubert. It may be proper to obſerve here, that all that extent of coaſt lying between Cape Louis and Cape François, of which the French ſaw very little during their firſt viſit in 1772, and may be called the North Weſt ſide of this land, they had it in their power to trace the poſition of in 1773, and have aſſigned names to ſome of its bays, rivers, and promontories, upon their Chart.

‡ Kerguelen's Iſle de Clugny.

§ Cape François, as already obſerved.


SKETCH of PORT PALLISER
on
KERGUELEN'S-LAND
Lat: 49°. 3' S
Long. 69°. 37 E
Nautic Miles.
PLAN of CHRISTMAS HARBOUR
on
KERGUELEN'S-LAND.
Lat. 48. 41 S
Long. 69°. 4. E
Variat. 25. 45 W.
1777.
Nautic Miles.

Cape, in the direction of South 53° Eaſt, and appeared to be a point at a conſiderable diſtance; for the trending of the coaſt from the Cape was more Southerly. We alſo ſaw ſeveral rocks and iſlands to the Eaſtward of the above directions, the moſt diſtant of which was about ſeven leagues from the Cape, bearing South 88° Eaſt *. 1776. December.

We had no ſooner got off the Cape, than we obſerved the coaſt, to the Southward, to be much indented by projecting points and bays; ſo that we now made ſure of ſoon finding a good harbour. Accordingly, we had not run a mile farther, before we diſcovered one behind the Cape, into which we began to ply; but after making one board, it fell calm, and we anchored at the entrance in forty-five fathoms water, the bottom black ſand; as did the Diſcovery ſoon after. I immediately diſpatched Mr. Bligh, the Maſter, in a boat to ſound the harbour; who, on his return, reported it to be ſafe and commodious, with good anchorage in every part; and great plenty of freſh water, ſeals, penguins, and other birds on the ſhore; but not a ſtick of wood. While we lay at anchor, we obſerved that the flood tide came from the South Eaſt, running two knots, at leaſt, in an hour.

At day-break, in the morning of the 25th, we weighed with a gentle breeze at Weſt; and having wrought into the harbour, to within a quarter of a mile of the ſandy beach at its head, we anchored in eight fathoms water, the bottom a fine dark ſand. The Diſcovery did not get in till two o'clock in the afternoon; when Captain Clerke informed me, that he had narrowly eſcaped being driven on the South Wedneſ. 25.

* The obſervations of the French, round Cape François, remarkably coincide with Captain Cook's in this paragraph; and the rocks and iſlands here mentioned by him, alſo appear upon their Chart.

point

1776. December. point of the harbour, his anchor having ſtarted before they had time to ſhorten in the cable. This obliged them to ſet ſail, and drag the anchor after them, till they had room to heave it up; and then they found one of its palms was broken off.

As ſoon as we had anchored, I ordered all the boats to be hoiſted out; the ſhip to be moored with a kedge anchor; and the water-caſks to be got ready to ſend on ſhore. In the mean time I landed, to look for the moſt convenient ſpot where they might be filled, and to ſee what elſe the place afforded.

I found the ſhore, in a manner, covered with penguins and other birds, and ſeals. Theſe latter were not numerous, but ſo inſenſible of fear (which plainly indicated that they were unaccuſtomed to ſuch viſiters), that we killed as many as we choſe, for the ſake of their fat or blubber, to make oil for our lamps, and other uſes. Freſh water was in no leſs plenty than were birds; for every gully afforded a large ſtream. But not a ſingle tree or ſhrub, nor the leaſt ſign of any, was to be diſcovered, and but very little herbage of any ſort. The appearances, as we ſailed into the harbour, had flattered us with the hope of meeting with ſomething conſiderable growing here, as we obſerved the ſides of many of the hills to be of a lively green. But I now found that this was occaſioned by a ſingle plant, which, with the other natural productions, ſhall be deſcribed in another place. Before I returned to my ſhip, I aſcended the firſt ridge of rocks, which riſe in a kind of amphitheatre above one another. I was in hopes, by this means, of obtaining a view of the country; but before I reached the top, there came on ſo thick a fog, that I could hardly find

my way down again. In the evening, we hauled the ſeine at the head of the harbour, but caught only half a dozen ſmall fiſh. We had no better ſucceſs next day, when we tried with hook and line. So that our only reſource here, for freſh proviſions, were birds, of which there was an inexhauſtible ſtore. 1776. December.

The morning of the 26th proved foggy, with rain. However, we went to work to fill water, and to cut graſs for our cattle, which we found in ſmall ſpots near the head of the harbour. The rain which fell, ſwelled all the rivulets to ſuch a degree, that the ſides of the hills, bounding the harbour, ſeemed to be covered with a ſheet of water. For the rain, as it fell, run into the fiſſures and crags of the rocks that compoſed the interior parts of the hills, and was precipitated down their ſides in prodigious torrents. Thurſday 26.

The people having wrought hard the two preceding days, and nearly completed our water, which we filled from a brook at the left corner of the beach, I allowed them the 27th as a day of reſt, to celebrate Chriſtmas. Upon this indulgence, many of them went on ſhore, and made excurſions, in different directions, into the country, which they found barren and deſolate in the higheſt degree. In the evening, one of them brought to me a quart bottle which he had found, faſtened with ſome wire to a projecting rock on the North ſide of the harbour. This bottle contained a piece of parchment, on which was written the following inſcription: Friday 27.

Ludovico

1776. December.

Ludovico XV Galliarum rege, et d. de Boynes regi a Secretis ad res maritimas annis* 1772 *et* 1773.

From this inſcription, it is clear, that we were not the firſt Europeans who had been in this harbour. I ſuppoſed it to be left by Monſieur de Boiſguehenneu, who went on ſhore in a boat on the 13th of February 1772, the ſame day that Monſieur de Kerguelen diſcovered this land; as appears by a Note in the French Chart of the Southern Hemiſphere, publiſhed the following year †.

As

* The *(d)*, no doubt is a contraction of the word *Domino*. The French Secretary of the Marine was then Monſieur de Boynes.

† On peruſing this paragraph of the Journal, it will be natural to aſk, How could Monſieur de Boiſguehenneu, in the beginning of 1772, leave an inſcription, which, upon the very face of it, commemorates a tranſaction of the following year? Captain Cook's manner of expreſſing himſelf here, ſtrongly marks, that he made this ſuppoſition, only for want of information to enable him to make any other. He had no idea that the French had viſited this land a ſecond time; and, reduced to the neceſſity of trying to accommodate what he ſaw himſelf, to what little he had heard of their proceedings, he confounds a tranſaction which we, who have been better inſtructed, know, for a certainty, belongs to the ſecond Voyage, with a ſimilar one, which his Chart of the Southern Hemiſphere has recorded, and which happened in a different year, and at a different place.

The bay, indeed, in which Monſieur de Boiſguehenneu landed, is upon the Weſt ſide of this land, conſiderably to the South of Cape Louis, and not far from another more Southerly promontory, called Cape Bourbon; a part of the coaſt which our ſhips were not upon. Its ſituation is marked upon our Chart; and a particular view of the bay *du Lion Marin* (for ſo Boiſguehenneu called it), with the ſoundings, is preſerved by Kerguelen.

But if the bottle and inſcription found by Captain Cook's people, were not left here by Boiſguehenneu, by whom and when were they left? This we learn moſt ſatisfactorily, from the accounts of Kerguelen's ſecond Voyage, as publiſhed by himſelf and Monſieur de Pagés, which preſent us with the following particulars: That they arrived on the Weſt ſide of this land on the 14th of December 1773; that, ſteering to the North

As a memorial of our having been in this harbour, I wrote on the other ſide of the parchment, 1776. December.

North Eaſt, they diſcovered, on the 16th, the *Iſle de Reunion*, and the other ſmall iſlands as mentioned above; that, on the 17th, they had before them the principal land (which they were ſure was connected with that ſeen by them on the 14th), and a high point of that land, named by them Cape François; that beyond this Cape, the coaſt took a South Eaſterly direction, and behind it they found a bay, called by them *Baie de l'Oiſeau*, from the name of their frigate; that they then endeavoured to enter it, but were prevented by contrary winds and blowing weather, which drove them off the coaſt Eaſtward; but that, at laſt, on the 6th of January, Monſieur de Roſnevet, Captain of the Oiſeau, was able to ſend his boat on ſhore into this bay, under the command of Monſieur de Rochegude, one of his officers, *who took poſſeſſion of that bay, and of all the country, in the name of the King of France, with all the requiſite formalities.*"

Here then we trace, by the moſt unexceptionable evidence, the hiſtory of the bottle and inſcription; the leaving of which was, no doubt, one of the requiſite formalities obſerved by Monſieur de Rochegude on this occaſion. And though he did not land till the 6th of January 1774, yet, as Kerguelen's ſhips arrived upon the coaſt on the 14th of December 1773, and had diſcovered and looked into this very bay on the 17th of of that month, it was with the ſtricteſt propriety and truth that 1773, and not 1774, was mentioned as the date of the diſcovery.

We need only look at Kerguelen's and Cook's Charts, to judge that the *Baie de l'Oiſeau*, and the harbour where the French inſcription was found, is one and the ſame place. But beſides this agreement as to the general poſition, the ſame concluſion reſults more deciſively ſtill, from another circumſtance worth mentioning: The French, as well as the Engliſh viſiters of this bay and harbour, have given us a particular Plan of it; and whoever compares ours, publiſhed in this Volume, with that to be met with in Kerguelen's and de Pagés's Voyages, muſt be ſtruck with a reſemblance that could only be produced by copying one common original with fidelity. Nay, even the ſoundings are the ſame upon the ſame ſpots in both Plans, being forty-five fathoms between the two Capes, before the entrance of the bay; ſixteen fathoms farther in, where the ſhores begin to contract; and eight fathoms up, near the bottom of the harbour.

To theſe particulars, which throw abundant light on this part of our Author's Journal, I ſhall only add, that the diſtance of our harbour from that where Boiſguehenneu landed in 1772, is forty leagues. For this we have the authority of Kerguelen, in the following paſſage: " Monſieur de Boiſguehenneu deſcendit le 13 de " Fevrier 1772, dans un baie, qu'il nomme Baie du Lion Marin, & prit poſſeſſion " de cette terre au nom de Roi; il n'y vit aucune trace d'habitants. Monſieur de " Rochegude, en 1774, a deſcendu dans un autre baie, que nous avons nommé " Baie de l'Oiſeau, & cette ſeconde rade eſt à quarantes lieues de la premiere. " Il en a également pris poſſeſſion, & il n'y trouva également aucune trace d'habitants." *Kerguelen*, p. 92.

1776. December.

Naves Reſolution
et Diſcovery
de Rege Magnæ Britanniæ,
Decembris 1776.

I then put it again into a bottle, together with a ſilver two-penny piece of 1772; and having covered the mouth of the
Saturday 28. bottle with a leaden cap, I placed it, the next morning, in a pile of ſtones erected for the purpoſe, upon a little eminence on the North ſhore of the harbour, and near to the place where it was firſt found; in which poſition it cannot eſcape the notice of any European, whom chance or deſign may bring into this port. Here I diſplayed the Britiſh flag, and named the place *Chriſtmas Harbour*, from our having arrived in it on that feſtival.

It is the firſt, or northernmoſt inlet that we meet with on the South Eaſt ſide of Cape St. Louis *, which forms the North ſide of the harbour, and is alſo the Northern point of this land. The ſituation alone is ſufficient to diſtinguiſh it from any of the other inlets; and, to make it more remarkable, its South point terminates in a high rock, which is perforated quite through, ſo as to appear like the arch of a bridge. We ſaw none like this upon the whole coaſt †. The harbour has another diſtinguiſhing mark within, from a ſingle

* Cape François, for reaſons already aſſigned.

† If there could be the leaſt doubt remaining of the identity of the Baie de l'Oiſeau, and Chriſtmas harbour, the circumſtance of the perforated rock, which divides it from another bay to the South, would amount to a ſtrict demonſtration. For Monſieur de Pagés had obſerved this diſcriminating mark before Captain Cook. His words are as follows: "L'on vit que la cote de l'Eſt, voiſine du Cap François, avoit deux baies; "elles étoient ſeparées par une pointe très reconnoiſſable par ſa forme, *qui repreſentoit* "*une porte cochere, au travers de laquelle l'on voyoit le jour.*" Voyages du M. de Pagés, Vol. ii. p. 67. Every one knows how exactly the form of a *porte cochere*, or arched gateway,

ſingle ſtone or rock, of a vaſt ſize, which lies on the top of a hill on the South ſide, near its bottom; and oppoſite this, on the North ſide, there is another hill, much like it, but ſmaller. There is a ſmall beach at its bottom, where we commonly landed; and, behind it, ſome gently riſing ground; on the top of which is a large pool of freſh water. The land on both ſides of the inlet is high, and it runs in Weſt, and Weſt North Weſt, about two miles. Its breadth is one mile and a quarter, for more than half its length; above which, it is only half a mile. The depth of water, which is forty-five fathoms at the entrance, varies, as we proceed farther in, from thirty, to five and four fathoms, as marked upon the Plan. The ſhores are ſteep; and the bottom is every where a fine dark ſand, except in ſome places cloſe to the ſhore, where there are beds of ſea-weed, which always grows on rocky ground. The head of the harbour lies open only to two points of the compaſs; and even theſe are covered by iſlands in the offing, ſo that no ſea can fall in to hurt a ſhip. The appearances on ſhore confirmed this; for we found graſs growing cloſe to high-water mark, which is a ſure ſign of a pacific harbour *. 1776. December.

It

gateway, correſponds with that of the arch of a bridge. It is very ſatisfactory to find the two navigators, neither of whom knew any thing of the other's deſcription, adopting the ſame idea; which both proves that they had the ſame uncommon object before their eyes, and that they made an accurate report.

* In the laſt Note, we ſaw how remarkably Monſieur de Pagés and Captain Cook agree about the appearance of the South Point of the harbour; I ſhall here ſubjoin another quotation from the former, containing his account of the harbour itſelf, in which the Reader may trace the ſame diſtinguiſhing features obſerved by Captain Cook in the foregoing paragraph.

" Le 6, l'on mit à terre dans la premiere baie à l'Eſt du Cap François, & l'on prit " poſſeſſion de ces contrées. Ce mouillage conſiſte en un petite rade, qui a environs " quatres encablures, ou quatre cents toiſes de profondeur, ſur un tiers en ſus de lar-

1776. December. It is high-water here, at the full and change days, about ten o'clock; and the tide riſes and falls about four feet.

After I had finiſhed this buſineſs of the inſcription, I went in my boat round the harbour, and landed in ſeveral places, to examine what the ſhore afforded; and, particularly, to look for drift wood. For, although the land here was totally deſtitute of trees, this might not be the caſe in other parts; and if there were any, the torrents would force ſome, or, at leaſt, ſome branches, into the ſea, which would afterward throw them upon the ſhores; as in all other countries where there is wood, and in many where there is none: but, throughout the whole extent of the harbour, I found not a ſingle piece.

In the afternoon, I went upon Cape St. Louis-*, accompanied by Mr. King, my Second Lieutenant. I was in hopes, from this elevation, to have had a view of the ſea-coaſt, and of the iſlands lying off it. But, when I got up, I found every diſtant object below me hid in a thick fog. The land on the ſame plain, or of a greater height, was viſible enough, and appeared naked and deſolate in the higheſt

" geur. En dedans de cette rade eſt un petit port, dont l'entrée, de quatres enca-
" blures de largeur, preſente au Sud-Eſt. La ſonde de la petite rade eſt depuis qua-
" rante-cinq juſqu'à trente braſſes; et celle du port depuis ſeize juſqu'à huit. Le
" fond des deux eſt de ſable noir et vaſeux. La cote des deux bords eſt haute, & par
" une pente très rude; elle eſt couverte de verdure, & il y a une quantité prodigieuſe
" d'Outardes. Le fond du port eſt occupé par un monticule qui laiſſe entre lui, et
" la mer une plage de ſable. Une petite riviere, de très bonne eau, coule à la mer
" dans cet endroit; & elle eſt fournie par un lac qui eſt un peu au loin, au deſſus du
" monticule. Il y avoit ſur le plage beaucoup de pinguoins & de lions marins. Ces
" deux eſpeces d'animaux ne fuyoient pas, & l'on augura que le pays n'étoit point
" habité; la terre rapportoit de l'herbe large, noire, & bien nourrie, qui n'avoit ce-
" pendant que cinque pouces ou plus de hauteur. L'on ne vit aucun arbre, ni ſigne
" d'habitation." *Voyage du Monſieur de Pagés*, Tom. ii. p. 69, 70.

* Cape François.

degree;

degree; except ſome hills to the Southward, which were covered with ſnow. 1776. December.

When I got on board, I found the launch hoiſted in, the ſhips unmoored, and ready to put to ſea; but our ſailing was deferred till five o'clock the next morning, when we weighed anchor. Sunday 29.

CHAP.

CHAP. V.

Departure from Chriſtmas Harbour.—Range along the Coaſt, to diſcover its Poſition and Extent.—Several Promontories and Bays, and a Peninſula, deſcribed and named.—Danger from Shoals.—Another Harbour and a Sound.—Mr. Anderſon's Obſervations on the natural Productions, Animals, Soil, &c. of Kerguelen's Land.

1776. December. Sunday 29.

AS ſoon as the ſhips were out of Chriſtmas Harbour, we ſteered South Eaſt ½ South, along the coaſt, with a fine breeze at North North Weſt, and clear weather. This we thought the more fortunate, as, for ſome time paſt, fogs had prevailed, more or leſs, every day; and the continuance of them would have defeated our plan of extending Kerguelen's diſcovery. We kept the lead conſtantly going; but ſeldom ſtruck ground with a line of fifty or ſixty fathoms.

About ſeven or eight o'clock, we were off a promontory, which I called Cape Cumberland. It lies a league and a half from the South point of Chriſtmas Harbour, in the direction of South Eaſt ½ South. Between them is a bay with two arms, both of which ſeemed to afford good ſhelter for ſhipping. Off Cape Cumberland is a ſmall but pretty high iſland, on the ſummit of which is a rock like a ſentry-box, which occaſioned our giving that name to the iſland. Two miles farther to the Eaſtward, lies a groupe of

ſmall

small islands and rocks, with broken ground about them: we sailed between these and Sentry-Box Island, the channel being a full mile broad, and more than forty fathoms deep; for we found no bottom with that length of line. 1776. December.

Being through this channel, we discovered, on the South side of Cape Cumberland, a bay, running in three leagues to the Westward. It is formed by this Cape to the North, and by a promontory to the South, which I named Point Pringle, after my good friend Sir John Pringle, President of the Royal Society. The bottom of this bay was called Cumberland Bay; and it seemed to be disjoined from the sea, which washes the North West coast of this country, by a narrow neck of land. Appearances, at least, favoured such a conjecture.

To the Southward of Point Pringle, the coast is formed into a fifth bay; of which this point is the Northern extreme; and from it, to the Southern extreme, is about four miles in the direction of South South East ½ East. In this bay, which obtained the Name of White Bay, on account of some white spots of land or rocks in the bottom of it, are several lesser bays or coves, which seemed to be sheltered from all winds. Off the South point, are several rocks which raise their heads above water; and, probably, many more that do not.

Thus far our course was in a direction parallel to the coast, and not more than two miles from it. Thither our glasses were continually pointed; and we could easily see that, except the bottoms of the bays and coves, which, for the most part, terminated in sandy beaches, the shores were rocky, and, in many places, swarmed with birds; but the

1776. December. country had the ſame barren and naked appearance as in the neighbourhood of Chriſtmas Harbour.

We had kept on our larboard bow, the land which firſt opened off Cape St. Louis *, in the direction of South 53° Eaſt, thinking that it was an iſland, and that we ſhould find a paſſage between it and the main. We now diſcovered this to be a miſtake; and found that it was a peninſula, joined to the reſt of the coaſt by a low iſthmus. I called the bay, formed by this peninſula, Repulſe Bay; and a branch of it ſeemed to run a good way inland towards the South South Weſt. Leaving this, we ſteered for the Northern point of the peninſula, which we named Howe's Foreland, in honour of Admiral Lord Howe.

As we drew near it, we perceived ſome rocks and breakers near the North Weſt part; and two iſlands a league and a half to the Eaſtward of it, which, at firſt, appeared as one. I ſteered between them and the Foreland †, and was in the middle of the channel by noon. At that time our latitude, by obſervation, was 48° 51′ South; and we had made twenty-ſix miles of Eaſt longitude from Cape St. Louis ‡.

From this ſituation, the moſt advanced land to the Southward bore South Eaſt; but the trending of the coaſt from the Foreland was more Southerly. The iſlands which lie

* Cape François.

† Though Kerguelen's ſhips, in 1773, did not venture to explore this part of the coaſt, Monſieur de Pages's account of it anſwers well to Captain Cook's. "Du 17 "au 23, l'on ne prit d'autre connoiſſance que celle de la figure de la cote, qui, courant "d'abord au Sud-Eſt, & revenant enſuite au Nord-Eſt, formoit un grand golfe. Il "étoit occupé par des briſans & des rochers; il avoit auſſi une iſle baſſe, & aſſez "etendue, & l'on uſa d'une bien ſoigneuſe precaution, pour ne pas s'affaler dans ce "golfe." *Voyage du M. de Pagés*, Tom. ii. p. 67.

‡ Cape François.

off Chriſtmas Harbour bore North; and the North point of the Foreland, North 60° Weſt, diſtant three miles. The land of this Peninſula, or Foreland, is of a moderate height, and of a hilly and rocky ſubſtance. The coaſt is low, with rocky points ſhooting out from it; between which points are little coves, with ſandy beaches; and theſe, at this time, were moſtly covered with ſea birds. We alſo ſaw upon them ſome ſeals. 1776. December.

As ſoon as we were clear of the rocks and iſlands before mentioned, I gave orders to ſteer South Eaſt by South, along the coaſt. But before theſe orders could be carried into execution, we diſcovered the whole ſea before us to be chequered with large beds of rock-weed, which we knew to be faſt to the bottom, and to grow on rocky ſhoals. I had often found a great depth of water on ſuch ſhoals; and I had, as often, found rocks that have raiſed their heads nearly to the ſurface of the water. It is always dangerous, therefore, to ſail over them before they are well examined; but more eſpecially, when there is no ſurge of the ſea to diſcover the danger. This was the caſe at preſent, for the ſea was as ſmooth as a mill-pond. Conſequently we endeavoured to avoid them, by ſteering through the winding channels by which they were ſeparated. We kept the lead continually going; but never ſtruck ground with a line of ſixty fathoms. This circumſtance increaſed the danger, as we could not anchor, whatever neceſſity there might be for it. After running in this manner above an hour, we diſcovered a lurking rock, juſt even with the ſurface of the ſea. It bore North Eaſt ½ Eaſt, diſtant three or four miles, and lay in the middle of one of theſe large beds of weeds. This was a ſufficient warning to make us uſe every precaution to prevent our coming upon them.

1776. December. We were now croſs the mouth of a large bay, that lies about eight miles to the Southward of Howe's Foreland. In and before the entrance of this bay are ſeveral low iſlands, rocks, and thoſe beds of ſea-weed. But there ſeemed to be winding channels between them. After continuing our courſe half an hour longer, we were ſo much embarraſſed with theſe ſhoals, that I reſolved to haul off to the Eaſtward, as the likelieſt means of extricating ourſelves from the danger that threatened us. But ſo far was this from anſwering the intended purpoſe, that it brought us into more. I therefore found it abſolutely neceſſary to ſecure the ſhips, if poſſible, in ſome place before night; eſpecially as the weather had now become hazy, and a fog was apprehended. And ſeeing ſome inlets to the South Weſt of us, I ordered Captain Clerke, as the Diſcovery drew leſs water than the Reſolution, to lead in for the ſhore; which was accordingly done.

In ſtanding in, it was not poſſible to avoid running over the edges of ſome of the ſhoals, on which we found from ten to twenty fathoms water; and the moment we were over, had no ground at the depth of fifty fathoms. After making a few boards to weather a ſpit that run out from an iſland on our lee, Captain Clerke made the ſignal for having diſcovered an harbour; in which, about five o'clock, we anchored in fifteen fathoms water, over a bottom of fine dark ſand, about three quarters of a mile from the ſhore; the North point of the harbour bearing North by Eaſt $\frac{1}{2}$ Eaſt, one mile diſtant; and the ſmall iſlands in the entrance, within which we anchored, extending from Eaſt to South Eaſt.

Scarcely were the ſhips ſecured, when it began to blow very ſtrong; ſo that we thought it prudent to ſtrike top-

gallant yards. The weather, however, continued fair; and the wind diſperſing the fog that had ſettled on the hills, it was tolerably clear alſo. The moment, therefore, we had anchored, I hoiſted out two boats; in one of which I ſent Mr. Bligh, the Maſter, to ſurvey the upper-part of the harbour, and look for wood; for not a ſhrub was to be ſeen from the ſhip. I alſo deſired Captain Clerke to ſend his Maſter to ſound the channel that is on the South ſide of the ſmall iſles, between them and a pretty large iſland which lies near the South point of the harbour. Having given theſe directions, I went myſelf, in my other boat, accompanied by Mr. Gore, my firſt Lieutenant, and Mr. Baily, and landed on the North point, to ſee what I could diſcover from thence. 1776. December.

From the higheſt hill over the point, we had a pretty good view of the ſea-coaſt, as far as Howe's Foreland. It is much indented, and ſeveral rocky points ſeemed to ſhoot out from it, with coves and inlets of unequal extent. One of the latter, the end of which I could not ſee, was diſjoined from that in which the ſhips were at anchor, by the point we then ſtood upon. A great many ſmall iſlands, rocks, and breakers appeared ſcattered along the coaſt, as well to the Southward as Northward; and I ſaw no better channel to get out of the harbour, than by the one through which we had entered it.

While Mr. Baily and I were making the obſervations, Mr. Gore encompaſſed the hill; and joined us by a different route, at the place where I had ordered the boat to wait for us. Except the craggy precipices, we met with nothing to obſtruct our walk. For the country was, if poſſible, more barren and deſolate than about Chriſtmas Harbour. And

1776. December. yet, if there be the leaſt fertility in any part of this land, we ought to have found it in this, which is completely ſheltered from the predominating bleak Southerly and Weſterly winds. I obſerved, with regret, that there was neither food nor covering for cattle of any ſort; and that, if I left any, they muſt inevitably periſh. In the little cove where the boat waited for us (which I called Penguin Cove, as the beach was covered with theſe birds), is a fine rivulet of freſh water, that may be eaſily come at. Here were alſo ſome large ſeals, ſhags, and a few ducks; and Mr. Baily had a tranſient ſight of a very ſmall land bird; but it flew amongſt the rocks, and we loſt it. About nine o'clock we got on board.

Soon after, Mr. Bligh returned, and reported, that he had been four miles up the harbour, and, as he judged, not far from the head of it. He found that its direction was Weſt South Weſt; and that its breadth, a little above the ſhips, did not exceed a mile; but grew narrower towards the head. The ſoundings were very irregular, being from thirty-ſeven to ten fathoms; and, except under the beds of ſea-weed, which in many places extended from the ſhore near half channel over, the bottom was a fine ſand. He landed on both ſhores, which he found barren and rocky, without the leaſt ſigns of tree or ſhrub, and with very little verdure of any kind. Penguins, and other oceanic birds and ſeals, occupied part of the coaſt; but not in ſuch numbers as at Chriſtmas Harbour.

Finding no encouragement to continue our reſearches,
Monday 30. and, the next morning, both wind and weather being favourable, I weighed anchor and put to ſea. To this harbour I gave the name of Port Palliſer, in honour of my worthy friend

friend Admiral Sir Hugh Palliſer. It is ſituated in the latitude of 49° 3′ South, in the longitude of 69° 37′ Eaſt, and five leagues from Howe's Foreland, in the direction of South 25° Eaſt. There are ſeveral iſlands, rocks, and breakers lying in and without the entrance, for which the annexed Chart of the coaſt, and ſketch of the harbour, may be conſulted. We went in and out between them and the North head; but I have no doubt that there are other channels. 1776. December.

As we were ſtanding out of Port Palliſer, we diſcovered a round hill, like a ſugar-loaf, in the direction of South 72° Eaſt, about nine leagues diſtant. It had the appearance of an iſland lying at ſome diſtance from the coaſt; but we afterwards found it was upon the main land. In getting out to ſea, we had to ſteer through the winding channels amongſt the ſhoals. However, we ventured to run over ſome of them, on which we never found leſs than eighteen fathoms, and often did not ſtrike ground with twenty-four; ſo that, had it not been for the ſea-weed growing upon all of them, they would not have been diſcovered.

After we had got about three or four leagues from the coaſt, we found a clear ſea, and then ſteered Eaſt till nine o'clock, when the Sugar Loaf hill, above mentioned, which I named Mount Campbell, bore South Eaſt, and a ſmall iſland that lies to the Northward of it, South South Eaſt, diſtant four leagues. I now ſteered more Southerly, in order to get in with the land. At noon, the latitude by double altitudes was 49° 8′ South; and we had made eighty miles of Eaſt longitude from Cape St. Louis *. Mount Campbell bore South 47° Weſt, diſtant about four leagues; a low point, beyond which no land was to be ſeen, bore South

* Cape François.

South.

1776. December. South Eaſt, at the diſtance of about twenty miles; and we were about two leagues from the ſhore.

The land here is low and level *. The mountains ending about five leagues from the low point, a great extent of low land is left, on which Mount Campbell is ſituated, about four miles from the foot of the mountains, and one from the ſea coaſt. Theſe mountains have a conſiderable elevation, as alſo moſt of the inland ones. They ſeemed to be compoſed of naked rocks, whoſe ſummits were capt with ſnow. Nor did the valleys appear to greater advantage. To whatever quarter we directed our glaſſes, nothing but ſterility was to be ſeen.

We had ſcarcely finiſhed taking the bearings at noon, before we obſerved low land opening off the low point juſt mentioned, in the direction of South South Eaſt, and eight miles beyond it. This new point proved to be the very Eaſtern extremity of this land, and it was named Cape Digby. It is ſituated in the latitude of 49° 23′ South, and in the longitude of 70° 34′ Eaſt.

Between Howe's Foreland and Cape Digby, the ſhore forms (beſides the ſeveral leſſer bays and harbours) one great bay that extends ſeveral leagues to the South Weſt, where it ſeemed to loſe itſelf in various arms running in between the mountains. A prodigious quantity of ſea-weed grows all over it, which ſeemed to be the ſame ſort of weed that Mr. Banks diſtinguiſhed by the name of *fucus*

* This part of the coaſt ſeems to be what the French ſaw on the 5th of January 1774. Monſieur de Pagés ſpeaks of it thus: "Nous reconnumes une nouvelle cote "etendue de toute veu dans l'Eſt, & dans le Oueſt. Les terres de cette cote étoient "moins elevées que celles que nous avions veues juſques ici; elles étoient auſſi d'un "aſpect moins rude." *De Pagés*, Tom. ii. p. 68.

giganteus.

giganteus *. Some of this weed is of a moſt enormous length, though the ſtem is not much thicker than a man's thumb. I have mentioned, that on ſome of the ſhoals upon which it grows, we did not ſtrike ground with a line of twenty-four fathoms. The depth of water, therefore, muſt have been greater. And as this weed does not grow in a perpendicular direction, but makes a very acute angle with the bottom, and much of it afterwards ſpreads many fathoms on the ſurface of the ſea, I am well warranted to ſay, that ſome of it grows to the length of ſixty fathoms and upward. 1776. December.

At one o'clock (having run two leagues upon a South Eaſt ½ Eaſt courſe, from noon) we ſounded, and found eighteen fathoms water, and a bottom of fine ſand. Seeing a ſmall bending in the coaſt, on the North ſide of Cape Digby, I ſteered for it. It was my intention to anchor there, if I ſhould find it might be done with ſafety, and to land on the Cape, to examine what the low land within it produced. After running in one league, we ſounded again, and found thirteen fathoms; and immediately after, ſaw a ſhoal right before us, that ſeemed to extend off from the ſhore, from which we were diſtant about two miles. This diſcovery obliged us to haul off, Eaſt by South, one league, where our depth of water encreaſed to twenty-five fathoms. We then ſteered along ſhore, and continued in the ſame depth, over a bottom of fine ſand, till Cape Digby bore Weſt, two leagues diſtant, when we found twenty-ſix fathoms.

After this we did not ſtrike ground, though we tried ſeveral times; but the ſhip having a good deal of way, ran

* See Hawkeſworth's Collection of Voyages, Vol. ii. p. 42.

the

1776. December. the line out before the lead could reach the bottom; and being diſappointed in my views both of anchoring and of landing, I would not ſhorten ſail, but puſhed forward, in order to ſee as much of the coaſt as poſſible before night. From Cape Digby, it trends nearly South Weſt by South for about four or five leagues, or to a low point, to which, in honour of her Majeſty, I gave the name of Point Charlotte, and it is the Southernmoſt on the low coaſt.

Six leagues from Cape Digby, in the direction of South South Weſt ½ Weſt, is a pretty high projecting point, which was called Prince of Wales's Foreland; and ſix leagues beyond that, in the ſame direction, and in the latitude of 49° 54′ South, and the longitude of 70° 13′ Eaſt, is the moſt Southerly point of the whole coaſt, which I diſtinguiſhed by the name of Cape George, in honour of his Majeſty.

Between Point Charlotte and Prince of Wales's Foreland, where the country to the South Weſt began again to be hilly, is a deep inlet, which was called Royal Sound. It runs in Weſt, quite to the foot of the mountains which bound it on the South Weſt, as the low land before-mentioned does on the North. There are iſlands lying in the entrance, and others higher up, as far as we could diſtinguiſh. As we advanced to the South, we obſerved, on the South Weſt ſide of Prince of Wales's Foreland, another inlet into Royal Sound; and it then appeared, that the Foreland was the Eaſt point of a large iſland lying in the mouth of it. There are ſeveral ſmall iſlands in this inlet; and one about a league to the Southward of Prince of Wales's Foreland.

All the land on the South Weſt ſide of Royal Sound, quite to Cape George, is compoſed of elevated hills, that riſe directly from the ſea, one behind another, to a conſiderable

height. Moſt of the ſummits were capt with ſnow, and they appeared as naked and barren as any we had ſeen. The ſmalleſt veſtige of a tree or ſhrub was not diſcoverable, either inland or on the coaſt; and, I think, I may venture to pronounce that the country produces none. The low land about Cape Digby, when examined through our glaſſes, reſembled the reſt of the low land we had before met with; that is, it appeared to be partly naked and partly covered with a green turf; a deſcription of which ſhall be given in its proper place. The ſhore is compoſed of ſandy beaches, on which were many penguins, and other oceanic birds; and an immenſe number of ſhags kept perpetually flying about the ſhips as we ſailed along. 1776. December.

Being deſirous of getting the length of Cape George, to be aſſured whether or no it was the moſt Southerly point of the whole land, I continued to ſtretch to the South, under all the ſail we could carry, till half an hour paſt ſeven o'clock; when, ſeeing no likelihood of accompliſhing my deſign, as the wind had, by this time, ſhifted to Weſt South Weſt, the very direction in which we wanted to go, I took the advantage of the ſhifting of the wind, and ſtood away from the coaſt.

At this time Cape George bore South 53° Weſt, diſtant about ſeven leagues. A ſmall iſland that lies off the pitch of the Cape, was the only land we could ſee to the South of it; and we were farther confirmed that there was no more in that quarter, by a South Weſt ſwell which we met as ſoon as we brought the Cape to bear in this direction.

But we have ſtill a ſtronger proof that no part of this land can extend much, if at all, to the Southward of Cape George; and that is, Captain Furneaux's track in February

1776. December.

1773, after his ſeparation from me during my late voyage. His log-book is now lying before me; and I find from it, that he croſſed the meridian of this land only about ſeventeen leagues to the Southward of Cape George; a diſtance at which it may very well be ſeen in clear weather. This ſeems to have been the caſe when Captain Furneaux paſſed it. For his log-book makes no mention of fogs or hazy weather; on the contrary, it expreſsly tells us, that, when in this ſituation, they had it in their power to make obſervations, both for latitude and longitude, on board his ſhip; ſo that, if this land extends farther South than Cape George, it would have been ſcarcely poſſible that he ſhould have paſſed without ſeeing it.

From theſe circumſtances we are able to determine, within a very few miles, the quantity of latitude that this land occupies; which does not much exceed one degree and a quarter. As to its extent from Eaſt to Weſt, that ſtill remains undecided. We only know, that no part of it can reach ſo far to the Weſt as the meridian of 65°; becauſe, in 1773, under that meridian, I ſearched for it in vain *.

The French diſcoverers, with ſome reaſon, imagined Cape St. Louis † to be the projecting point of a Southern continent.

* If the French obſervations, as marked upon Captain Cook's Chart, and ſtill more authentically upon that publiſhed by their own diſcoverers, may be depended upon, this land doth not reach ſo far to the Weſt as the meridian of 68°; Cape Louis, which is repreſented as its moſt Weſterly point, being laid down by them to the Eaſt of that meridian.

† The idea of Cape Louis being this projecting point of a Southern continent, muſt have ſoon vaniſhed, as Cape François, within a year after, was found, by the ſame diſcoverer, to lie above one third of a degree farther North upon the ſame land. But if Kerguelen entertained any ſuch imagination at firſt, we are ſure that, at preſent, he thinks very differently. This appears from the following explicit declaration of his ſentiments, which deſerves to be tranſcribed from his late publication, as it does equal

Three Views of Arched Point on KERGUELEN's LAND.

View when Arched Point bears N.° 2½ miles distant

View of KERGUELEN's LAND 4½ miles distant

View of KERGUELEN's LAND when Prince of Wales's Foreland bears W.S.W.

nent. The Engliſh have ſince proved that no ſuch continent exiſts; and that the land in queſtion is an iſland of no great extent *; which, from its ſterility, I ſhould, with great propriety, call the Iſland of Deſolation, but that I would not rob Monſieur de Kerguelen of the honour of its bearing his name †. 1776. December.

honour to his candour, and to Captain Cook's abilities. " La terre que j'ai decou- " verte eſt certainement *une Iſle*; puiſque le célebre Capitaine Cook a paſſé au Sud, " lors de ſon premiere voyage, ſans rien rencontrer. Je juge même, que cette iſle *n'eſt* " *pas bien grande*. Il y a auſſi apparence, d'apres le Voyage de Monſieur Cook, " que toute cette étendue de Mers Meridionales, eſt ſemée d'Iſles ou de rochers; " mais qu'il n'y a *ni continent ni grande terre*." Kerguelen, p. 92.

* Kerguelen, as we ſee in the laſt Note, concurs with Captain Cook as to this. However, he tells us, that he has reaſon to believe that it is about two hundred leagues in circuit; and that he was acquainted with about fourſcore leagues of its coaſt. " J'en connois environs quatre-vingt lieues des cotes; & j'ai lieu de croire, qu'elle " a environ deux cents lieues de circuit." *Kerguelen*, ibid.

† Some of Monſieur de Kerguelen's own countrymen ſeem more deſirous than we are, to rob him of this honour. It is very remarkable that Monſieur de Pagés never once mentions the name of his commander. And, though he takes occaſion to enumerate the ſeveral French explorers of the Southern Hemiſphere, from Gonneville down to Crozet, he affects to preſerve an entire ſilence about Kerguelen, whoſe firſt voyage, in which the diſcovery of this conſiderable tract of land was made, is kept as much out of ſight, as if it never had taken place. Nay, not ſatisfied with refuſing to acknowledge the right of another, he almoſt aſſumes it to himſelf. For upon a Map of the World, annexed to his book, at the ſpot where the new land is delineated, we read this inſcription: *Iſles nouvelles Auſtrales vuées par Monſieur de Pagés, en* 1774. He could ſcarcely have expreſſed himſelf in ſtronger terms, if he had meant to convey an idea that he was the conductor of the diſcovery. And yet we know, that he was only a Lieutenant [Enſeigne de vaiſſeau] on board one of the three ſhips commanded by Kerguelen; and that the diſcovery had been already made in a former voyage, undertaken while he was actually engaged in his ſingular journey round the world.

After all, it cannot but be remarked, that Kerguelen was peculiarly unfortunate, in having done ſo little to complete what he had begun. He diſcovered a new land indeed; but, in two expeditions to it, he could not once bring his ſhips to an anchor upon any part of its coaſts. Captain Cook, as we have ſeen in this, and in the foregoing Chapter, had either fewer difficulties to ſtruggle with, or was more ſucceſsful in ſurmounting them.

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Mr. Anderſon, my Surgeon, who, as I have already mentioned, had made Natural Hiſtory a part of his ſtudies, loſt no opportunity, during the ſhort time we lay in Chriſtmas Harbour, of ſearching the country in every direction. He afterwards communicated to me the obſervations he made on its natural productions; and I ſhall inſert them here in his own words.

" Perhaps no place, hitherto diſcovered in either hemiſphere, under the ſame parallel of latitude, affords ſo ſcanty a field for the naturaliſt as this barren ſpot. The verdure which appears, when at a little diſtance from the ſhore, would flatter one with the expectation of meeting with ſome herbage; but in this we were much deceived. For on landing, we ſaw that this lively colour was occaſioned only by one ſmall plant, not much unlike ſome ſorts of *ſaxifrage*, which grows in large ſpreading tufts, to a conſiderable way up the hills. It forms a ſurface of a pretty large texture, and grows on a kind of rotten turf, into which one ſinks a foot or two at every ſtep. This turf, dried, might, in caſes of neceſſity, ſerve for fuel, and is the only thing we met with here that could poſſibly be applied to this uſe.

There is another plant, plentifully enough ſcattered about the boggy declivities, which grows to near the height of two feet, and not much unlike a ſmall cabbage, when it has ſhot into ſeeds. The leaves about the root are numerous, large, and rounded; narrower at the baſe, and ending in a ſmall point. Thoſe on the ſtalks are much ſmaller, oblong, and pointed. The ſtalks, which are often three or four, all riſe ſeparately from the root, and run into long cylindrical heads, compoſed of ſmall flowers. It has not only

only the appearance, but the watery acrid taſte of the anti-ſcorbutic plants, and yet differs materially from the whole tribe; ſo that we looked upon it as a production entirely peculiar to the place. We eat it frequently raw, and found it almoſt like the New Zealand ſcurvy-graſs. But it ſeemed to acquire a rank flavour by being boiled; which, however, ſome of our people did not perceive, and eſteemed it good. If it could be introduced into our kitchen gardens, it would, in all probability, improve ſo far by cultivation, as to be an excellent pot-herb. At this time, none of its ſeeds were ripe enough to be preſerved, and brought home, to try the experiment. 1776. December.

Two other ſmall plants were found near the brooks and boggy places, which were eaten as ſallad; the one almoſt like garden creſſes, and very fiery; and the other very mild. This laſt, though but ſmall, is in itſelf a curioſity; having not only male and female, but what the botaniſts call *androgynous* plants.

A coarſe graſs, which we cut down for the cattle, grows pretty plentifully in a few ſmall ſpots about the ſides of the harbour, with a ſmaller ſort which is rarer; and, upon the flat ground, a ſort of gooſe-graſs, and another ſmall plant much like it. In ſhort, the whole catalogue of plants does not exceed ſixteen or eighteen, including ſome ſorts of moſs, and a beautiful ſpecies of *lichen*, which grows upon the rocks, higher up than the reſt of the vegetable productions. Nor is there even the leaſt appearance of a ſhrub in the whole country.

Nature has rather been more bountiful in furniſhing it with animals; though, ſtrictly ſpeaking, they are not inhabitants of the place, being all of the marine kind; and, in general,

1776. December. general, only uſing the land for breeding, and for a reſting-place. The moſt conſiderable are ſeals, or (as we uſed to call them) ſea bears; being that ſort called the urſine ſeal. Theſe come aſhore to reſt or breed; but they were not very numerous, which is not to be wondered at, as it is known that theſe animals rather frequent out-rocks, and little iſlands lying off coaſts, than bays or inlets. They were, at this time, ſhedding their hair, and ſo tame, that we killed what number we choſe.

No other quadruped, either of the ſea or of the land kind, was ſeen; but a great number of birds, *viz.* ducks, petrels, albatroſſes, ſhags, gulls, and ſea-ſwallows.

The ducks are about the ſize of a teal or widgeon; but ſomewhat different in colour from either. They were in tolerable plenty about the ſides of the hills, or even lower; and we killed a conſiderable number, which were good, and without the leaſt fiſhy taſte. We met with ſome of the ſame ſort at the iſland of Georgia, in our late voyage.

The Cape petrel, or Pintado bird; the ſmall blue one, which is always ſeen at ſea; and the ſmall black one, or Mother Carey's Chicken, are not here in great numbers. But we found a neſt of the firſt with an egg in it, about the ſize of a pullet's; and the ſecond, though ſcarce, was met with in ſome holes like rabbit-burrows.

Another ſort, which is the largeſt of all the petrels, and called by the ſeamen Mother Carey's Gooſe, is in greater numbers; and ſo tame, that at firſt we could kill them with a ſtick upon the beach. They are not inferior in ſize to an albatroſs, and are carnivorous, feeding on the dead carcaſſes of ſeals or birds, that were thrown into the ſea.

Their

Their colour is a ſutty brown, with a greeniſh bill and feet; and, doubtleſs, they are the ſame that the Spaniards call *quebrantahueſſos*, whoſe head is figured in Pernetty's Voyage to Falkland Iſlands *. 1776. December.

Of the albatroſſes, none were found on ſhore except the grey one, which is commonly met with at ſea in the higher Southern latitudes. Once I ſaw one of theſe ſitting in the cliff of a rock, but they were frequently flying about the harbour; and the common large ſort, as well as a ſmaller with a black face, were ſeen farther out.

Penguins form, by far, the greateſt number of birds here; and are of three ſorts: The firſt, or largeſt, I have ſeen formerly at the iſland of Georgia †. It is alſo mentioned by Bougainville ‡; but it does not ſeem to be ſo ſolitary as he repreſents it, for we found conſiderable numbers flocking together. The head is black, the upper part of the body a leaden grey, and the under part white, with black feet. It has two broad ſtripes of fine yellow, that begin on the ſides of the head, and deſcending by each ſide of the neck, meet above its breaſt. The bill is partly reddiſh, and longer than in the other ſorts.

The ſecond ſort of penguin ſcarcely exceeds half the ſize of the former. The upper part of the body is a blackiſh grey, with a white ſpot on the upper part of the head, growing broader at each ſide. The bill and feet are yellowiſh. A very accurate figure and deſcription, both of this and of the preceding, is given by Mr. Sonnerat §.

* Fig. 3. Plate VIII.

† Pennant's Patagonian penguin. See his *Genera of Birds*. Tab. 14. p. 66.

‡ *Voyage autour du Monde*, p. 69.

§ *Voyage à la Nouvelle Guinée*, p. 181, 182. Tab. 113. 115.

The

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The third ſort of penguin met with here, had never been ſeen by any of us before. Its length is twenty-four inches, and its breadth twenty. The upper part of the body and throat are black; the reſt white, except the upper part of the head, which has a fine yellow arch, looking backward, and ending on each ſide in long ſoft feathers, which it can erect as two creſts.

The two firſt ſorts were found together on the beach; the large ones keeping by themſelves, and walking in ſmall flocks amongſt the others, which were more numerous, and were ſometimes ſeen a conſiderable way up the ſides of the hills. The third ſort were only found by themſelves, but in great numbers, on the outer ſhores of the harbour. They were breeding at this time; and they lay, on the bare ſtones, only one white egg, larger than that of a duck. All the three ſorts of penguins were ſo tame, that we took as many as we pleaſed with our hands.

The ſhags of this place are of two ſorts; the leſſer corvorant or water crow, and another, which is black above, with a white belly; the ſame that is found in New Zealand, Terra del Fuego, and the iſland of Georgia.

We alſo met with here the common ſea-gull, ſea-ſwallow, tern, and Port Egmont hen; the laſt of which were tame and numerous.

Another ſort of white bird, flocks of which flew about the bay, is very ſingular; having the baſe of the bill covered with a horny cruſt *. It is larger than a pigeon, with the bill black and the feet white, made like thoſe of a cur-

* The ſheath-bill. See *Pennant's Genera of Birds*, p. 43.

lew. Some of our people put it in competition with the duck, as food. 1776. December.

The ſeine was hauled once; but we found only a few fiſh about the ſize of a ſmall haddock; though quite different from any we knew. The ſnout is lengthened; the head armed with ſome ſtrong ſpines; the rays of the back-fin long, and very ſtrong; the belly is large; and the body without ſcales. The only ſhell fiſh are a few limpets and muſcles; and, amongſt the ſtones, a few ſmall ſtar-fiſh, and ſea-anemonies, were found.

The hills are of a moderate height; yet many of their tops were covered with ſnow at this time, though anſwering to our June. Some of them have large quantities of ſtones, irregularly heaped together at their foot, or on their ſides. The ſides of others, which form ſteep cliffs towards the ſea, are rent from the top downward, and ſeem ready to fall off, having ſtones of a conſiderable ſize lying in the fiſſures. Some were of opinion that froſt might be the cauſe of theſe fiſſures, which I ſhall not diſpute; but how others of the appearances could be effected, but by earthquakes, or ſome ſuch ſevere ſhocks, I cannot ſay.

It appears that rain muſt be almoſt conſtant here, not only from the marks of large torrents having ruſhed down, but from the diſpoſition of the country, which, even on the hills, is almoſt an entire bog or ſwamp, the ground ſinking at every ſtep.

The rocks, or foundations of the hills, are compoſed chiefly of a dark blue, and very hard, ſtone, intermixed with ſmall particles of glimmer or quartz. This ſeems to be one of the moſt univerſal productions of Nature, as it conſtitutes whole mountains in Sweden, in Scotland, at the

1776. December. Canary Iſlands, the Cape of Good Hope, and at this place Another browniſh brittle ſtone forms here ſome conſiderable rocks; and one which is blacker, and found in detached pieces, incloſes bits of coarſe quartz. A red, a dull yellow, and a purpliſh ſand-ſtone, are alſo found in ſmall pieces; and pretty large lumps of ſemi-tranſparent quartz, diſpoſed irregularly in polyedral pyramidal cryſtals of long ſhining fibres. Some ſmall pieces of the common ſort are met with in the brooks, made round by attrition; but none hard enough to reſiſt a file. Nor were any of the other ſtones acted on by aqua fortis, or attracted by the magnet.

Nothing, that had the leaſt appearance of an ore or metal, was ſeen."

CHAP.

146°
15'
30
15'
147°
15'
30
15'
148°
15'
13°
15°
30
45
11°
Mewstone
South Cape
View of VAN DIEMENS LAND over Fluted Cape, when South Cape bears NNE¼E distant 7 miles.
Penguin Island
View of the LAND over Fluted Cape when Penguin Island bears NW½W 7 mile distant
View of VAN DIEMENS LAND when the Mewstone bears N¼E distant 5 miles.
CHART
of
VAN DIEMENS LAND
Cape Frederick Henry
MARIA'S
Isles
Adventure
Bay
Penguin I.
Fluted Cape
Storm Bay
Tasmans Head
Friars
Peaked Hill
S.W Cape
South Cape
Mewstone
Eddystone
Pedro Blanco
called Swilly in the Adventure

CHAP. VI.

Paſſage from Kerguelen's to Van Diemen's Land.—Arrival in Adventure Bay.—Incidents there.—Interviews with the Natives.—Their Perſons and Dreſs deſcribed.—Account of their Behaviour.—Table of the Longitude, Latitude, and Variation.—Mr. Anderſon's Obſervations on the natural Productions of the Country, on the Inhabitants, and their Language.

AFTER leaving Kerguelen's Land, I ſteered Eaſt by North, intending, in obedience to my inſtructions, to touch next at New Zealand; to recruit our water, to take in wood, and to make hay for the cattle. Their number, by this time, had been conſiderably diminiſhed; two young bulls, one of the heifers, two rams, and ſeveral of the goats having of late died, while we were employed in exploring this deſolate coaſt. 1776. December.

The 31ſt, in the morning, being the day after we ſtood out to ſea, we had ſeveral obſervations of the ſun and moon. Their reſults gave the longitude 72° 33′ 36″ Eaſt. The time-keeper, in this ſituation, gave 72° 38′ 15″. Theſe obſervations were the more uſeful, as we had not been able to get any for ſome time before, and they now ſerved to aſſure us that no material error had crept into the time keeper. Tueſday 31.

On the 1ſt of January, being then in the latitude of 48° 41′ South, longitude 76° 50′ Eaſt, the variation was 30° 39′ Weſt; 1777. January. Wedneſ. 1.

1777. January. Thurſday 2. Weſt; and the next day, in the latitude of 48° 22′ South, longitude 80° 22′ Eaſt, it was 30° 47′ 18″ Weſt. This was the greateſt variation we found in this paſſage; for afterward

Friday 3. it began to decreaſe, but ſo ſlowly, that on the 3d, in the evening, being then in the latitude of 48° 16′ South, longitude 85° Eaſt, it was 29° 38′ Weſt.

Thus far we had freſh gales from the Weſt and South Weſt, and tolerably clear weather. But now the wind veered to the North, where it continued eight days, and was attended with a thick fog. During this time, we ran above three hundred leagues in the dark. Now and then the weather would clear up, and give us a ſight of the ſun; but this happened very ſeldom, and was always of ſhort continu-

Tueſday 7. ance. On the 7th, I hoiſted out a boat, and ſent an order to Captain Clerke, appointing Adventure Bay, in Van Diemen's Land, as our place of rendezvous, in caſe of ſeparation before we arrived in the meridian of that land. But we were fortunate enough, amidſt all this foggy weather, by frequently firing guns as ſignals, though we ſeldom ſaw each other, not to loſe company.

Sunday 12. On the 12th, being in the latitude of 48° 40′ South, longitude 110° 26′ Eaſt, the Northerly winds ended in a calm; which, after a few hours, was ſucceeded by a wind from the Southward. This, with rain, continued for twenty-four hours; when it freſhened, and veered to the Weſt and North Weſt, and brought on fair and clear weather.

We continued our courſe to the Eaſtward, without meeting with any thing worthy of notice, till four o'clock in the

Sunday 19. morning of the 19th; when, in a ſudden ſquall of wind, though the Diſcovery received no damage, our fore-top-maſt went by the board, and carried the main-top-gallant-maſt with

with it. This occaſioned ſome delay, as it took us up the whole day to clear the wreck, and to fit another top-maſt. The former was accompliſhed without loſing any part of it, except a few fathoms of ſmall rope. Not having a ſpare main-top-gallant-maſt on board, the fore-top-gallant-maſt was converted into one for our immediate uſe. 1777. January.

The wind continued Weſterly, blew a freſh gale, and was attended with clear weather; ſo that ſcarcely a day paſſed without being able to get obſervations for fixing the longitude, and the variation of the compaſs. The latter decreaſed in ſuch a manner, that in the latitude of 44° 18′ South, longitude 132° 2′ Eaſt, it was no more than 5° 34′ 18″ Weſt; and on the 22d, being then in the latitude of 43° 27′ South, longitude 141° 50′ Eaſt, it was 1° 24′ 15″ Eaſt. So that we had croſſed the line where the compaſs has no variation. Wedneſ. 22.

On the 24th, at three o'clock in the morning, we diſcovered the coaſt of Van Diemen's Land, bearing North ½ Weſt. At four o'clock, the South Weſt Cape bore North North Weſt ½ Weſt; and the Mewſtone, North Eaſt by Eaſt, three leagues diſtant. There are ſeveral iſlands and high rocks lying ſcattered along this part of the coaſt, the Southernmoſt of which is the Mewſtone. It is a round elevated rock, five or ſix leagues diſtant from the South Weſt Cape, in the direction of South 55° Eaſt. Friday 24.

At noon, our latitude was 43° 47′ South, longitude 147° Eaſt; and the ſituation of the lands round us as follows: An elevated round-topped hill bore North 17° Weſt; the South Weſt Cape North 74° Weſt; the Mewſtone Weſt ½ North; Swilly Iſle or Rock South 49° Eaſt; and the South Eaſt or South Cape North 40° Eaſt, diſtant near three leagues. The land

1777. January. land between the South Weſt and the South Capes is broken and hilly, the coaſt winding, with points ſhooting out from it; but we were too far off, to be able to judge whether the bays formed by theſe points were ſheltered from the ſea-winds. The bay which appeared to be the largeſt and deepeſt, lies to the Weſtward of the peaked hill above-mentioned. The variation of the compaſs here, was 5° 15′ Eaſt.

At ſix o'clock in the afternoon we ſounded, and found ſixty fathoms water, over a bottom of broken coral and ſhells. The South Cape then bore North 75° Weſt, two or three leagues diſtant; Taſman's Head North Eaſt; and Swilly Rock South by Weſt ½ Weſt. About a league to the Eaſtward of Swilly, is another elevated rock, that is not taken notice of by Captain Furneaux. I called it the Eddyſtone, from its very great reſemblance to that light-houſe. Nature ſeems to have left theſe two rocks here, for the ſame purpoſe that the Eddyſtone light-houſe was built by man, *viz.* to give navigators notice of the dangers around them. For they are the conſpicuous ſummits of a ledge of rocks under water, on which the ſea, in many places, breaks very high. Their ſurface is white with the dung of ſea-fowls; ſo that they may be ſeen at ſome diſtance, even in the night. On the North Eaſt ſide of Storm Bay, which lies between the South Cape and Taſman's Head, there are ſome coves or creeks, that ſeemed to be ſheltered from the ſea-winds; and I am of opinion that, were this coaſt examined, there would be found ſome good harbours.

Soon after we had ſight of land the Weſterly winds left us, and were ſucceeded by variable light airs and alternate calms, till the 26th at noon. At that time a breeze ſprung

Sunday 26.

up and freſhened at South Eaſt, which put it in my power to carry into execution the deſign I had, upon due conſideration, formed, of carrying the ſhips into Adventure Bay, where I might expect to get a ſupply of wood and of graſs for the cattle; of both which articles we ſhould, as I now found, have been in great want, if I had waited till our arrival in New Zealand. We therefore ſtood for the bay, and anchored in it at four o'clock in the afternoon, in twelve fathoms water, over a bottom of ſand and ouſe. Penguin Iſland, which lies cloſe to the Eaſt point of the bay, bore North 84° Eaſt; the Southernmoſt point of Maria's Iſlands bore North 76° ½ Eaſt; and Cape Frederic Henry, or the North point of the bay, bore North 33° Eaſt. Our diſtance from the neareſt ſhore was about three quarters of a mile. 1777. January.

As ſoon as we had anchored, I ordered the boats to be hoiſted out. In one of them I went myſelf, to look for the moſt commodious place for furniſhing ourſelves with the neceſſary ſupplies; and Captain Clerke went in his boat upon the ſame ſervice. Wood and water we found in plenty, and in ſituations convenient enough, eſpecially the firſt. But graſs, of which we ſtood moſt in need, was ſcarce, and alſo very coarſe. Neceſſity, however, obliged us to take ſuch as we could get.

Next morning early, I ſent Lieutenant King to the Eaſt ſide of the bay with two parties; one to cut wood, and the other to cut graſs, under the protection of the marines, whom I judged it prudent to land as a guard. For although, as yet, none of the natives had appeared, there could be no doubt that ſome were in our neighbourhood, as we had ſeen columns of ſmoke, from the time of our approaching the coaſt; and ſome now was obſerved, at no great diſtance Monday 27.

up

1777. January. up in the woods. I alſo ſent the launch for water; and afterwards viſited all the parties myſelf. In the evening, we drew the ſeine at the head of the bay, and, at one haul, caught a great quantity of fiſh. We ſhould have got many more, had not the net broken in drawing it aſhore. Moſt of them were of that ſort known to ſeamen by the name of elephant fiſh. After this, every one repaired on board with what wood and graſs we had cut, that we might be ready to ſail whenever the wind ſhould ſerve.

Tueſday 28. This not happening next morning, the people were ſent on ſhore again, on the ſame duty as the day before. I alſo employed the carpenter, with part of his crew, to cut ſome ſpars for the uſe of the ſhip; and diſpatched Mr. Roberts, one of the mates, in a ſmall boat to ſurvey the bay.

In the afternoon, we were agreeably ſurpriſed, at the place where we were cutting wood, with a viſit from ſome of the natives; eight men and a boy. They approached us from the woods, without betraying any marks of fear, or rather with the greateſt confidence imaginable; for none of them had any weapons, except one, who held in his hand a ſtick about two feet long, and pointed at one end.

They were quite naked, and wore no ornaments; unleſs we conſider as ſuch, and as a proof of their love of finery, ſome large punctures or ridges raiſed on different parts of their bodies, ſome in ſtraight, and others in curved lines.

They were of the common ſtature, but rather ſlender. Their ſkin was black, and alſo their hair, which was as woolly as that of any native of Guinea; but they were not diſtinguiſhed by remarkably thick lips, nor flat noſes. On the contrary, their features were far from being diſagreeable.

able. They had pretty good eyes; and their teeth were tolerably even, but very dirty. Moſt of them had their hair and beards ſmeared with a red ointment; and ſome had their faces alſo painted with the ſame compoſition. 1777. January.

They received every preſent we made to them, without the leaſt appearance of ſatisfaction. When ſome bread was given, as ſoon as they underſtood that it was to be eaten, they either returned it, or threw it away, without even taſting it. They alſo refuſed ſome elephant fiſh, both raw and dreſſed, which we offered to them. But upon giving ſome birds to them, they did not return theſe, and eaſily made us comprehend that they were fond of ſuch food. I had brought two pigs aſhore, with a view to leave them in the woods. The inſtant theſe came within their reach, they ſeized them, as a dog would have done, by the ears, and were for carrying them off immediately; with no other intention, as we could perceive, but to kill them.

Being deſirous of knowing the uſe of the ſtick which one of our viſiters carried in his hand, I made ſigns to them to ſhew me; and ſo far ſucceeded, that one of them ſet up a piece of wood as a mark, and threw at it, at the diſtance of about twenty yards. But we had little reaſon to commend his dexterity; for, after repeated trials, he was ſtill very wide from the object. Omai, to ſhew them how much ſuperior our weapons were to theirs, then fired his muſquet at it; which alarmed them ſo much, that notwithſtanding all we could do or ſay, they ran inſtantly into the woods. One of them was ſo frightened, that he let drop an axe and two knives, that had been given to him. From us, however, they went to the place, where ſome of the Diſcovery's people were employed in taking water into their boat. The officer

1777. January. of that party, not knowing that they had paid us ſo friendly a viſit, nor what their intent might be, fired a muſquet in the air, which ſent them off with the greateſt precipitation.

Thus ended our firſt interview with the natives. Immediately after their final retreat, judging that their fears would prevent their remaining near enough to obſerve what was paſſing, I ordered the two pigs, being a boar and ſow, to be carried about a mile within the woods, at the head of the bay. I ſaw them left there, by the ſide of a freſh-water brook. A young bull and a cow, and ſome ſheep and goats, were alſo, at firſt, intended to have been left by me, as an additional preſent to Van Diemen's Land. But I ſoon laid aſide all thought of this, from a perſuaſion that the natives, incapable of entering into my views of improving their country, would deſtroy them. If ever they ſhould meet with the pigs, I have no doubt this will be their fate. But as that race of animals ſoon becomes wild, and is fond of the thickeſt cover of the woods, there is great probability of their being preſerved. An open place muſt have been choſen for the accommodation of the other cattle; and in ſuch a ſituation, they could not poſſibly have remained concealed many days.

Wedneſ. 29. The morning of the 29th was uſhered in with a dead calm, which continued all day, and effectually prevented our ſailing. I therefore ſent a party over to the Eaſt point of the bay to cut graſs; having been informed that ſome of a ſuperior quality grew there. Another party, to cut wood, was ordered to go to the uſual place, and I accompanied them myſelf. We had obſerved ſeveral of the natives, this morning, ſauntering along the ſhore, which aſſured us, that

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though their conſternation had made them leave us ſo abruptly the day before, they were convinced that we intended them no miſchief, and were deſirous of renewing the intercourſe. It was natural that I ſhould wiſh to be preſent on the occaſion.

We had not been long landed, before about twenty of them, men and boys, joined us, without expreſſing the leaſt ſign of fear or diſtruſt. There was one of this company conſpicuouſly deformed; and who was not more diſtinguiſhable by the hump upon his back, than by the drollery of his geſtures, and the ſeeming humour of his ſpeeches; which he was very fond of exhibiting, as we ſuppoſed, for our entertainment. But, unfortunately, we could not underſtand him; the language ſpoken here being wholly unintelligible to us. It appeared to me, to be different from that ſpoken by the inhabitants of the more northern parts of this country, whom I met with in my firſt voyage; which is not extraordinary, ſince thoſe we now ſaw, and thoſe we then viſited, differ in many other reſpects *. Nor did they ſeem to be

* The moſt ſtriking difference ſeems to be with regard to the texture of the hair. The natives whom Captain Cook met with at Endeavour River in 1769, are ſaid, by him, to have *naturally long and black hair, though it be univerſally cropped ſhort. In general it is ſtrait, but ſometimes it has a ſlight curl. We ſaw none that was not matted and filthy. Their beards were of the ſame colour with the hair, and buſhy and thick.* See Hawkeſworth's Collection, Vol. iii. chap. 8. p. 632.

It may be neceſſary to mention here, on the authority of Captain King, that Captain Cook was very unwilling to allow that the hair of the natives now met with in Adventure Bay was *woolly*, fancying that his people, who firſt obſerved this, had been deceived, from its being clotted with greaſe and red ochre. But Captain King prevailed upon him afterward, to examine carefully the hair of the boys, which was generally, as well as that of the women, free from this dirt; and then he owned himſelf ſatisfied that it was naturally *woolly*. Perhaps we may ſuppoſe it poſſible, that he himſelf had been deceived when he was in Endeavour River, from this very circumſtance; as he expreſsly ſays, that *they ſaw none that was not matted and filthy.*

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ſuch miſerable wretches as the natives whom Dampier mentions to have ſeen on its weſtern coaſt *.

Some of our preſent groupe wore, looſe, round their necks, three or four folds of ſmall cord, made of the fur of ſome animal; and others of them had a narrow ſlip of the *kangooroo* ſkin tied round their ancles. I gave to each of them a ſtring of beads, and a medal; which I thought they received with ſome ſatisfaction. They ſeemed to ſet no value on iron, or on iron tools. They were even ignorant of the uſe of fiſh-hooks, if we might judge from their manner of looking at ſome of ours which we ſhewed to them.

We cannot, however, ſuppoſe it to be poſſible that a people who inhabit a ſea-coaſt, and who ſeem to derive no part of their ſuſtenance from the productions of the ground, ſhould not be acquainted with ſome mode of catching fiſh, though we did not happen to ſee any of them thus employed; nor obſerve any canoe or veſſel, in which they could go upon the water. Though they abſolutely rejected the ſort of fiſh that we offered to them, it was evident that ſhell-

* And yet Dampier's New Hollanders, on the Weſtern coaſt, bear a ſtriking reſemblance to Captain Cook's at Van Diemen's Land, in many remarkable inſtances:

1ſt, As to their becoming familiar with the ſtrangers.

2dly, As to their perſons; being ſtraight-bodied, and thin; their ſkin black; and black, ſhort, curled hair, like the Negroes of Guinea; with wide mouths.

3dly, As to their wretched condition; having no houſes, no garment, no canoes, no inſtrument to catch large fiſh; feeding on broiled muſcles, cockles, and periwinckles; having no fruits of the earth; their weapons a ſtraight pole, ſharpened and hardened at the end, &c. &c.

The chief peculiarities of Dampier's *miſerable wretches* are, 1ſt, Their eye-lids being always half cloſed, to keep the flies out, which were exceſſively troubleſome there: and, 2dly, Their wanting the two fore-teeth of the upper jaw, and their having no beards. See *Dampier's Voyages*, Vol. i. p. 464, &c. There ſeems to be no reaſon for ſuppoſing that Dampier was miſtaken in the above account of what he ſaw.

fiſh,

fiſh, at leaſt, made a part of their food, from the many heaps of muſcle-ſhells we ſaw in different parts near the ſhore, and about ſome deſerted habitations near the head of the bay. Theſe were little ſheds or hovels built of ſticks, and covered with bark. We could alſo perceive evident ſigns of their ſometimes taking up their abode in the trunks of large trees, which had been hollowed out by fire, moſt probably for this very purpoſe. In or near all theſe habitations, and wherever there was a heap of ſhells, there remained the marks of fire; an indubitable proof that they do not eat their food raw. 1777. January.

After ſtaying about an hour with the wooding party and the natives, as I could now be pretty confident that the latter were not likely to give the former any diſturbance, I left them, and went over to the graſs-cutters on the Eaſt point of the bay, and found that they had met with a fine patch. Having ſeen the boats loaded, I left that party, and returned on board to dinner; where, ſome time after, Lieutenant King arrived.

From him I learnt, that I had but juſt left the ſhore, when ſeveral women and children made their appearance, and were introduced to him by ſome of the men who attended them. He gave preſents to all of them, of ſuch trifles as he had about him. Theſe females wore a *kangooroo* ſkin (in the ſame ſhape as it came from the animal) tied over the ſhoulders, and round the waiſt. But its only uſe ſeemed to be, to ſupport their children when carried on their backs; for it did not cover thoſe parts which moſt nations conceal; being, in all other reſpects, as naked as the men, and as black, and their bodies marked with ſcars in the ſame manner. But in this they differed from the men, that though

1777. January. their hair was of the ſame colour and texture, ſome of them had their heads completely ſhorn or ſhaved; in others this operation had been performed only on one ſide, while the reſt of them had all the upper part of the head ſhorn cloſe, leaving a circle of hair all round, ſomewhat like the tonſure of the Romiſh Eccleſiaſtics *. Many of the children had fine features, and were thought pretty; but of the perſons of the women, eſpecially thoſe advanced in years, a leſs favourable report was made. However, ſome of the Gentlemen belonging to the Diſcovery, I was told, paid their addreſſes, and made liberal offers of preſents, which were rejected with great diſdain; whether from a ſenſe of virtue, or the fear of diſpleaſing their men, I ſhall not pretend to determine. That this gallantry was not very agreeable to the latter, is certain: for an elderly man, as ſoon as he obſerved it, ordered all the women and children to retire, which they obeyed, though ſome of them ſhewed a little reluctance.

This conduct of Europeans amongſt Savages, to their women, is highly blameable; as it creates a jealouſy in their men, that may be attended with conſequences fatal to the ſucceſs of the common enterprize, and to the whole body

* Captain Cook's account of the natives of Van Diemen's Land, in this Chapter, no doubt proves that they differ, *in many reſpects*, as he ſays, from the inhabitants of the more northerly parts of the Eaſt coaſt of New Holland, whom he met with in his firſt voyage. It ſeems very remarkable, however, that the only woman any of his people came cloſe to, in Botany Bay, ſhould have *her hair cropped ſhort*; while the man who was with her, is ſaid to have had *the hair of his head buſhy, and his beard long and rough*. Hawkeſworth's Collection, Vol. iii. p. 502. Could the natives of Van Diemen's Land be more accurately deſcribed, than by ſaying that the hair of the men's heads is *buſhy, and their beards long and rough, and that the women's hair is cropped ſhort?* So far North, therefore, as Botany Bay, the natives of the Eaſt coaſt of New Holland ſeem to reſemble thoſe of Van Diemen's Land, in this circumſtance.

of

of adventurers, without advancing the private purpoſe of the individual, or enabling him to gain the object of his wiſhes. I believe it has been generally found amongſt uncivilized people, that where the women are eaſy of acceſs, the men are the firſt to offer them to ſtrangers; and that, where this is not the caſe, neither the allurement of preſents, nor the opportunity of privacy, will be likely to have the deſired effect. This obſervation, I am ſure, will hold good, throughout all the parts of the South Sea where I have been. Why then ſhould men act ſo abſurd a part, as to riſk their own ſafety, and that of all their companions, in purſuit of a gratification which they have no probability of obtaining?

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In the afternoon I went again to the graſs-cutters, to forward their work. I found them then upon Penguin Iſland, where they had met with a plentiful crop of excellent graſs. We laboured hard till ſun-ſet, and then repaired on board, ſatisfied with the quantity we had collected, and which I judged ſufficient to laſt till our arrival in New Zealand.

During our whole ſtay, we had either calms or light airs from the Eaſtward. Little or no time, therefore, was loſt by my putting in at this place. For if I had kept the ſea, we ſhould not have been twenty leagues advanced farther on our voyage. And, ſhort as our continuance was here, it has enabled me to add ſomewhat to the imperfect acquaintance that hath hitherto been acquired, with this part of the globe.

Van Diemen's Land has been twice viſited before. It was ſo named by Taſman, who diſcovered it in November 1642. From that time it had eſcaped all farther notice by European navigators, till Captain Furneaux touched at it in March

1777. January. March 1773. I hardly need ſay, that it is the Southern point of New Holland, which, if it doth not deſerve the name of a continent, is by far the largeſt iſland in the world.

The land is, for the moſt part, of a good height, diverſified with hills and valleys, and every where of a greeniſh hue. It is well wooded; and, if one may judge from appearances, and from what we met with in Adventure Bay, is not ill ſupplied with water. We found plenty of it in three or four places in this bay. The beſt, or what is moſt convenient for ſhips that touch here, is a rivulet, which is one of ſeveral that fall into a pond, that lies behind the beach at the head of the bay. It there mixes with the ſea-water; ſo that it muſt be taken up above this pond, which may be done without any great trouble. Fire-wood is to be got, with great eaſe, in ſeveral places.

The only wind to which this bay is expoſed, is the North Eaſt. But as this wind blows from Maria's iſlands, it can bring no very great ſea along with it; and therefore, upon the whole, this may be accounted a very ſafe road. The bottom is clean, good holding ground; and the depth of water from twelve, to five and four fathoms. But the annexed Chart will convey a better idea of every thing neceſſary to be known about Adventure Bay, than any deſcription.

Captain Furneaux's ſketch of Van Diemen's Land, publiſhed with the Narrative of my laſt Voyage *, appears to me to be without any material error, except with regard to Maria's Iſlands, which have a different ſituation from what is there repreſented. What my idea of them is, will be ſeen

* Vol. i. p. 115.

in

in the ſketch of that coaſt here inſerted; and I inſert it, not as the reſult of a more faithful, but merely of a ſecond examination. The longitude was determined by a great number of lunar obſervations, which we had before we made the land, while we were in ſight of it, and after we had left it; and reduced to Adventure Bay, and the ſeveral principal points, by the time-keeper. The following Table will exhibit both the longitude and latitude at one view: 1777. January.

	Latitude South.			Longitude Eaſt.		
Adventure Bay, - -	43°	21′	20″	147°	29′	0″
Taſman's Head, - -	43	33	0	147	28	0
South Cape, - -	43	42	0	146	56	0
South Weſt Cape, - -	43	37	0	146	7	0
Swilly Iſle, - - -	43	55	0	147	6	0

Adventure Bay, { Variation of the compaſs 5° 15′ Eaſt. / Dip of the South End of the Needle 70° 15½′.

We had high-water on the 29th, being two days before the laſt quarter of the moon, at nine in the morning. The perpendicular riſe then was eighteen inches; and there was no appearance of its having ever exceeded two feet and a half. Theſe are all the memorials uſeful to navigation, which my ſhort ſtay has enabled me to preſerve, with reſpect to Van Diemen's Land.

Mr. Anderſon, my Surgeon, with his uſual diligence, ſpent the few days we remained in Adventure Bay, in examining the country. His account of its natural productions, with which he favoured me, will more than compenſate for my ſilence about them: ſome of his remarks on the inhabitants will ſupply what I may have omitted or repreſented imperfectly; and his ſpecimen of their language,

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however ſhort, will be thought worth attending to, by thoſe who wiſh to collect materials for tracing the origin of nations. I ſhall only premiſe, that the tall ſtraight foreſt trees, which Mr. Anderſon deſcribes in the following account, are of a different ſort from thoſe which are found in the more Northern parts of this coaſt. The wood is very long and cloſe-grained; extremely tough; fit for ſpars, oars, and many other uſes; and would, on occaſion, make good maſts (perhaps none better), if a method could be found to lighten it.

" At the bottom of Adventure Bay is a beautiful ſandy beach, which ſeems to be wholly formed by the particles waſhed by the ſea from a very fine white ſand-ſtone, that in many places bounds the ſhore, and of which Fluted Cape, in the neighbourhood, from its appearance, ſeems to be compoſed. This beach is about two miles long, and is excellently adapted for hauling a ſeine, which both ſhips did repeatedly with ſucceſs. Behind this, is a plain or flat, with a ſalt, or rather brackiſh lake (running in length parallel with the beach), out of which we caught, with angling rods, many whitiſh bream, and ſome ſmall trout. The other parts of the country adjoining the bay are quite hilly; and both thoſe and the flat are an entire foreſt of very tall trees, rendered almoſt impaſſable by ſhrubs, brakes of fern, and fallen trees; except on the ſides of ſome of the hills, where the trees are but thin, and a coarſe graſs is the only interruption.

To the Northward of the bay there is low land, ſtretching farther than the eye can reach, which is only covered with wood in certain ſpots; but we had no opportunity to examine in what reſpects it differed from the hilly country. The

The ſoil on the flat land is either ſandy, or conſiſts of a yellowiſh mould, and, in ſome places, of a reddiſh clay. The ſame is found on the lower part of the hills; but farther up, eſpecially where there are few trees, it is of a grey tough caſt, to appearance very poor. 1777. January.

In the valleys between the hills, the water drains down from their ſides; and at laſt, in ſome places, forms ſmall brooks; ſuch indeed as were ſufficient to ſupply us with water, but by no means of that ſize we might expect in ſo extenſive a country, eſpecially as it is both hilly and well wooded. Upon the whole, it has many marks of being naturally a very dry country; and perhaps might (independent of its wood) be compared to Africa, about the Cape of Good Hope, though that lies ten degrees farther Northward, rather than to New Zealand, on its other ſide, in the ſame latitude, where we find every valley, however ſmall, furniſhed with a conſiderable ſtream of water. The heat too appears to be great, as the thermometer ſtood at 64, 70, and once at 74. And it was remarked, that birds were ſeldom killed an hour or two, before they were almoſt covered with ſmall maggots, which I would rather attribute merely to the heat; as we had not any reaſon to ſuppoſe there is a peculiar diſpoſition in the climate to render ſubſtances ſoon putrid.

No mineral bodies, nor indeed ſtones of any other ſort, but the white ſand one already mentioned, were obſerved.

Amongſt the vegetable productions, there is not one, that we could find, which afforded the ſmalleſt ſubſiſtence for man.

The foreſt trees are all of one ſort, growing to a great height, and in general quite ſtraight, branching but little,

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till towards the top. The bark is white, which makes them appear, at a diſtance, as if they had been peeled; it is alſo thick; and within it are ſometimes collected, pieces of a reddiſh tranſparent gum or reſin, which has an aſtringent taſte. The leaves of this tree are long, narrow, and pointed; and it bears cluſters of ſmall white flowers, whoſe cups were, at this time, plentifully ſcattered about the ground, with another ſort reſembling them ſomewhat in ſhape, but much larger; which makes it probable that there are two *ſpecies* of this tree. The bark of the ſmaller branches, fruit, and leaves, have an agreeable pungent taſte, and aromatic ſmell, not unlike peppermint; and in its nature, it has ſome affinity to the *myrtus* of botaniſts.

The moſt common tree, next to this, is a ſmall one about ten feet high, branching pretty much, with narrow leaves, and a large, yellow, cylindrical flower, conſiſting only of a vaſt number of filaments; which, being ſhed, leave a fruit like a pine-top. Both the above-mentioned trees are unknown in Europe.

The underwood conſiſts chiefly of a ſhrub ſomewhat reſembling a myrtle, and which ſeems to be the *leptoſpermum ſcoparium*, mentioned in Dr. Forſter's *Char. Gen. Plant.*; and, in ſome places, of another, rather ſmaller, which is a new *ſpecies* of the *melaleuca* of Linnæus.

Of other plants, which are by no means numerous, there is a *ſpecies* of *gladiolus*, ruſh, bell-flower, ſamphire, a ſmall ſort of wood-ſorrel, milk-wort, cudweed, and Job's tears; with a few others, peculiar to the place. There are ſeveral kinds of fern, as polypody, ſpleenwort, female fern, and ſome moſſes; but the *ſpecies* are either common, or at leaſt found in ſome other countries, eſpecially New Zealand.

The

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The only animal of the quadruped kind we got, was a ſort of *opoſſum*, about twice the ſize of a large rat; and is, moſt probably, the male of that *ſpecies* found at Endeavour River, as mentioned in Hawkeſworth's Collection of Voyages *. It is of a duſky colour above, tinged with a brown or ruſty caſt, and whitiſh below. About a third of the tail, towards its tip, is white, and bare underneath; by which it probably hangs on the branches of trees, as it climbs theſe, and lives on berries. Mr. Webber's drawing will give a better idea of it than any deſcription. The *kangoorco*, another animal found farther Northward in New Holland, as deſcribed in the ſame Voyage †, without all doubt alſo inhabits here, as the natives we met with had ſome pieces of their ſkins; and we ſeveral times ſaw animals, though indiſtinctly, run from the thickets when we walked in the woods, which, from the ſize, could be no other. It ſhould ſeem alſo, that they are in conſiderable numbers, from the dung we ſaw almoſt every where, and from the narrow tracks or paths they have made amongſt the ſhrubbery.

There are ſeveral ſorts of birds, but all ſo ſcarce and ſhy, that they are evidently haraſſed by the natives, who, perhaps, draw much of their ſubſiſtence from them. In the woods, the principal ſorts are large brown hawks or eagles; crows, nearly the ſame as ours in England; yellowiſh paroquets; and large pigeons. There are alſo three or four ſmall birds, one of which is of the thruſh kind; and another ſmall one, with a pretty long tail, has part of the head and neck of a moſt beautiful azure colour; from whence we named it *motacilla cyanea*. On the ſhore were ſeveral com-

* Vol. iii. p. 586. † Ibid. p. 577.

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1777. January. mon and ſea gulls; a few black oyſter catchers, or ſea-pies; and a pretty plover of a ſtone colour, with a black hood. About the pond or lake behind the beach, a few wild ducks were ſeen; and ſome ſhags uſed to perch upon the high leafleſs trees near the ſhore.

Some pretty large blackiſh ſnakes were ſeen in the woods; and we killed a large, hitherto unknown, lizard, fifteen inches long and ſix round, elegantly clouded with black and yellow; beſides a ſmall ſort, of a brown gilded colour above, and ruſty below.

The ſea affords a much greater plenty, and at leaſt as great a variety as the land. Of theſe the elephant fiſh, or *pejegallo*, mentioned in Frezier's Voyage *, are the moſt numerous; and though inferior to many other fiſh, were very palatable food. Several large rays, nurſes, and ſmall leather-jackets were caught; with ſome ſmall white bream, which were firmer and better than thoſe caught in the lake. We likewiſe got a few ſoles and flounders; two ſorts of gurnards, one of them a new *ſpecies*; ſome ſmall ſpotted mullet; and, very unexpectedly, the ſmall fiſh with a ſilver band on its ſide, called *atherina hepſetus* by Haſſelquiſt †.

But that next in number, and ſuperior in goodneſs, to the elephant fiſh, was a ſort none of us recollected to have ſeen before. It partakes of the nature both of a round and of a flat fiſh, having the eyes placed very near each other; the fore-part of the body much flattened or depreſſed, and the reſt rounded. It is of a browniſh ſandy colour, with ruſty ſpots on the upper part, and whitiſh below. From the

* Tom. ii. p. 211. 12mo. Planche XVII. † *Iter Palæſtinum.*

quantity

quantity of ſlime it was always covered with, it ſeems to live after the manner of flat fiſh, at the bottom. 1777. January.

Upon the rocks are plenty of muſcles, and ſome other ſmall ſhell-fiſh. There are alſo great numbers of ſea-ſtars; ſome ſmall limpets; and large quantities of ſponge; one ſort of which, that is thrown on ſhore by the ſea, but not very common, has a moſt delicate texture; and another, is the *ſpongia dichotoma.*

Many pretty *Meduſa's heads* were found upon the beach; and the ſtinking *laplyſia* or ſea-hare, which, as mentioned by ſome authors, has the property of taking off the hair by the acrimony of its juice; but this ſort was deficient in this reſpect.

Inſects, though not numerous, are here in conſiderable variety. Amongſt them are graſshoppers, butterflies, and ſeveral ſorts of ſmall moths, finely variegated. There are two ſorts of dragon-flies, gad-flies, camel-flies; ſeveral ſorts of ſpiders; and ſome ſcorpions; but the laſt are rather rare. The moſt troubleſome, though not very numerous tribe of inſects, are the muſquitoes; and a large black ant, the pain of whoſe bite is almoſt intolerable, during the ſhort time it laſts. The muſquitoes, alſo, make up the deficiency of their number, by the ſeverity of their venomous *proboſcis.*

The inhabitants whom we met with here, had little of that fierce or wild appearance common to people in their ſituation; but, on the contrary, ſeemed mild and cheerful, without reſerve or jealouſy of ſtrangers. This, however, may ariſe from their having little to loſe or care for.

With

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With reſpect to perſonal activity or genius, we can ſay but little of either. They do not ſeem to poſſeſs the firſt in any remarkable degree; and as for the laſt, they have, to appearance, leſs than even the half-animated inhabitants of Terra del Fuego, who have not invention ſufficient to make clothing for defending themſelves from the rigor of their climate, though furniſhed with the materials. The ſmall ſtick, rudely pointed, which one of them carried in his hand, was the only thing we ſaw that required any mechanical exertion, if we except the fixing on the feet of ſome of them pieces of *kangooroo* ſkin, tied with thongs; though it could not be learnt whether theſe were in uſe as ſhoes, or only to defend ſome ſore. It muſt be owned, however, they are maſters of ſome contrivance, in the manner of cutting their arms and bodies in lines of different lengths and directions, which are raiſed conſiderably above the ſurface of the ſkin, ſo that it is difficult to gueſs the method they uſe in executing this embroidery of their perſons. Their not expreſſing that ſurprize which one might have expected from their ſeeing men ſo much unlike themſelves, and things, to which, we were well aſſured, they had been hitherto utter ſtrangers; their indifference for our preſents; and their general inattention; were ſufficient proofs of their not poſſeſſing any acuteneſs of underſtanding.

Their colour is a dull black, and not quite ſo deep as that of the African Negroes. It ſhould ſeem alſo, that they ſometimes heightened their black colour, by ſmutting their bodies; as a mark was left behind on any clean ſubſtance, ſuch as white paper, when they handled it. Their hair, however, is perfectly woolly, and it is clotted or divided into ſmall parcels, like that of the Hottentots, with the uſe of

of ſome ſort of greaſe, mixed with a red paint or ochre, which they ſmear in great abundance over their heads. This practice, as ſome might imagine, has not the effect of changing their hair into the frizzling texture we obſerved; for, on examining the head of a boy, which appeared never to have been ſmeared, I found the hair to be of the ſame kind. Their noſes, though not flat, are broad and full. The lower part of the face projects a good deal, as is the caſe of moſt Indians I have ſeen; ſo that a line let fall from the forehead, would cut off a much larger portion than it would in Europeans. Their eyes are of a middling ſize, with the white leſs clear than in us; and though not remarkably quick or piercing, ſuch as give a frank cheerful caſt to the whole countenance. Their teeth are broad, but not equal, nor well ſet; and, either from nature or from dirt, not of ſo true a white as is uſual among people of a black colour. Their mouths are rather wide; but this appearance ſeems heightened by wearing their beards long, and clotted with paint, in the ſame manner as the hair on their heads. In other reſpects, they are well-proportioned; though the belly ſeems rather projecting. This may be owing to the want of compreſſion there, which few nations do not uſe, more or leſs. The poſture of which they ſeem fondeſt, is to ſtand with one ſide forward, or the upper part of the body gently reclined, and one hand graſping (acroſs the back) the oppoſite arm, which hangs down by the projecting ſide. 1777. January.

What the ancient Poets tell us of *Fauns* and *Satyrs* living in hollow trees, is here realized. Some wretched conſtructions of ſticks, covered with bark, which do not even deſerve the name of huts, were indeed found near the ſhore in the bay; but theſe ſeemed only to have been erected for tem-

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porary purpoſes; and many of their largeſt trees were converted into more comfortable habitations. Theſe had their trunks hollowed out by fire, to the height of ſix or ſeven feet; and that they take up their abode in them ſometimes, was evident from the hearths, made of clay, to contain the fire in the middle, leaving room for four or five perſons to ſit round it *. At the ſame time, theſe places of ſhelter are durable; for they take care to leave one ſide of the tree ſound, which is ſufficient to keep it growing as luxuriantly as thoſe which remain untouched.

The inhabitants of this place are, doubtleſs, from the ſame ſtock with thoſe of the Northern parts of New Holland. Though ſome of the circumſtances mentioned by Dampier, relative to thoſe he met with on the Weſtern coaſt of this country, ſuch as their defective ſight, and want of fore-teeth, are not found here; and though Hawkeſworth's account of thoſe met with by Captain Cook on the Eaſt ſide, ſhews alſo that they differ in many reſpects; yet ſtill, upon the whole, I am perſuaded that diſtance of place, entire ſeparation, diverſity of climate, and length of time, all concurring to operate, will account for greater differences, both as to their perſons and as to their cuſtoms, than really exiſt between our Van Diemen's Land natives, and thoſe deſcribed by Dampier, and in Captain Cook's firſt voyage. This is certain, that the figure of one of thoſe ſeen in Endeavour River, and repreſented in Sidney Parkinſon's Journal of that voyage, very much reſembles our viſiters in Adventure Bay. That there is not the like reſemblance in their language, is a circumſtance that need not create any difficulty. For though

* Taſman, when in the bay of Frederick Henry, adjoining to Adventure Bay, found two trees, one of which was two fathoms, and the other two fathoms and a half in girth, and ſixty or ſixty-five feet high, from the root to the branches. See his *Voyage, in Harris's Collection, Campbell's Edition*, Vol. i. p. 326.

the

the agreement of the languages of people living diſtant from each other, may be aſſumed as a ſtrong argument for their having ſprung from one common ſource; diſagreement of language is by no means a proof of the contrary *. 1777. January.

However, we muſt have a far more intimate acquaintance with the languages ſpoken here and in the more Northern parts of New Holland, before we can be warranted to pronounce that they are totally different. Nay, we have good grounds for the oppoſite opinion; for we found that the animal called *kangooroo* at Endeavour river, was known under the ſame name here; and I need not obſerve, that it is ſcarcely poſſible to ſuppoſe that this was not tranſmitted from one another, but accidentally adopted by two nations, differing in language and extraction. Beſides, as it ſeems very improbable that the Van Diemen's Land inhabitants ſhould have ever loſt the uſe of canoes or ſailing veſſels, if they had been originally conveyed thither by ſea, we muſt neceſſarily admit that they, as well as the *kangooroo* itſelf, have been ſtragglers by land from the more Northern parts

* The ingenious Author of *Récherches ſur les Americains*, illuſtrates the grounds of this aſſertion in the following ſatisfactory manner: "C'eſt quelque choſe de ſurprenant, que la foule des idiomes, tous variés entr'eux, que parlent les naturels de l'Amérique Septentrionale. Qu'on réduiſe ces idiomes à des racines, qu'on les ſimpliſie, qu'on en ſépare les dialectes & les jargons derivés, il en reſulte toujours cinq ou ſix langues-meres, reſpectivement incomprehenſibles. On a obſervé la même ſingularité dans la Siberie & la Tartarie, où le nombre des idiomes, & des dialectes, eſt également multiplié; & rien n'eſt plus commun, que d'y voir deux hordes voiſines qui ne ſe comprennent point. On rétrouve cette même multiplicité de jargons dans toutes les Provinces de l'Amérique Méridionale." [He might alſo have included Africa.] "Il y a beaucoup d'apparence que *la vie ſauvage, en diſperſant les hommes par petites troupes iſolées dans des bois épais, occaſione n ceſſairement cette grande diverſité des langues*, dont le nombre diminue à méſure que la ſociété, en raſſemblant les barbares vagabonds, en forme un corps de nation. Alors l'idiome le plus riche, ou le moins pauvre en mots, devient dominant, & abſorbe les autres." Tom. i. p. 159, 160.

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of the country. And if there be any force in this obſervation, while it traces the origin of the people, it will, at the ſame time, ſerve to fix another point, if Captain Cook and Captain Fourneaux have not already decided it, that New Holland is no where totally divided by the ſea into iſlands, as ſome have imagined *.

As the New Hollanders ſeem all to be of the ſame extraction, ſo neither do I think there is any thing peculiar in them. On the contrary, they much reſemble many of the inhabitants whom I have ſeen at the iſlands Tanna and Manicola. Nay, there is even ſome foundation for hazarding a ſuppoſition, that they may have originally come from the ſame place with all the inhabitants of the South Sea. For, of only about ten words which we could get from them, that which expreſſes *cold*, differs little from that of New Zealand and Otaheite; the firſt being *Mallareede*, the ſecond *Makka'reede*, and the third *Ma'reede*. The reſt of our very ſcanty Van Diemen's Land Vocabulary is as follows:

Quadne,	*A woman.*
Eve'rai,	*The eye.*
Muidje,	*The noſe.*
Ka'my,	*The teeth, mouth, or tongue.*
Lae'renne,	*A ſmall bird, a native of the woods here.*
Koy'gee,	*The ear.*
No'onga,	*Elevated ſcars on the body.*
Teegera,	*To eat.*
Toga'rago,	*I muſt be gone,* or, *I will go.*

Their pronunciation is not diſagreeable, but rather quick; though not more ſo than is that of other nations of the

* Dampier ſeems to be of this opinion. Vol. iii. p. 104. 125.

VIEW of the South Side *of* ADVENTURE BAY

PLAN of ADVENTURE BAY

on

VAN DIEMENS LAND

Lat.ᵗ 43.21.20 S. Long.ᵗ 147.25 E. Var.ᵗ 5.45 E. 1777.

South Sea; and, if we may depend upon the affinity of languages as a clue to guide us in diſcovering the origin of nations, I have no doubt but we ſhall find, on a diligent inquiry, and when opportunities offer to collect accurately a ſufficient number of theſe words, and to compare them, that all the people from New Holland, Eaſtward to Eaſter Iſland, have been derived from the ſame common root *."

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* We find Mr. Anderſon's notions on this ſubject conformable to thoſe of Mr. Marſden, who has remarked, "that one general language prevailed (however mutilated and changed in the courſe of time) throughout all this portion of the world, "from Madagaſcar to the moſt diſtant diſcoveries Eaſtward; of which the Malay is a "dialect, much corrupted or refined by a mixture of other tongues. This very extenſive ſimilarity of language indicates a common origin of the inhabitants; but "the circumſtances and progreſs of their ſeparation are wrapped in the darkeſt veil of "obſcurity." *Hiſtory of Sumatra*, p. 35.

See alſo his very curious paper, read before the Society of Antiquaries, and publiſhed in their *Archæologia*, Vol. vi. p. 155; where his ſentiments on this ſubject are explained more at large, and illuſtrated by two Tables of correſponding Words.

CHAP.

CHAP. VII.

The Paſſage from Van Diemen's Land to New Zealand.—Employments in Queen Charlotte's Sound.—Tranſactions with the Natives there.—Intelligence about the Maſſacre of the Adventure's Boat's Crew.—Account of the Chief who headed the Party on that Occaſion.—Of the two young Men who embark to attend Omai.—Various Remarks on the Inhabitants.—Aſtronomical and Nautical Obſervations.

1777. January. Thurſday 30. AT eight o'clock in the morning of the 30th of January, a light breeze ſpringing up at Weſt, we weighed anchor, and put to ſea from Adventure Bay. Soon after, the wind veered to the Southward, and increaſed to a perfect ſtorm. Its fury abated in the evening, when it veered to the Eaſt and North Eaſt.

This gale was indicated by the barometer, for the wind no ſooner began to blow, than the mercury in the tube began to fall. Another remarkable thing attended the coming on of this wind, which was very faint at firſt. It brought with it a degree of heat that was almoſt intolerable. The mercury in the thermometer roſe, as it were inſtantaneouſly, from about 70° to near 90°. This heat was of ſo ſhort a continuance, that it ſeemed to be wafted away before the breeze that brought it; ſo that ſome on board did not perceive it.

We

We purſued our courſe to the Eaſtward, without meeting with any thing worthy of note, till the night between the 6th and 7th of February, when a marine belonging to the Diſcovery fell over-board, and was never ſeen afterward. This was the ſecond misfortune of the kind that had happened to Captain Clerke ſince he left England. 1777. February. Friday 7.

On the 10th, at four in the afternoon, we diſcovered the land of New Zealand. The part we ſaw proved to be Rock's Point, and bore South Eaſt by South, about eight or nine leagues diſtant. During this run from Van Diemen's Land, the wind, for the firſt four or five days, was at North Eaſt, North, and North North Weſt, and blew, for the moſt part, a gentle breeze. It afterward veered to South Eaſt, where it remained twenty-four hours. It then came to Weſt and South Weſt; in which points it continued, with very little deviation, till we reached New Zealand. Monday 10.

After making the land, I ſteered for Cape Farewell, which at day-break, the next morning, bore South by Weſt, diſtant about four leagues. At eight o'clock, it bore South Weſt by South, about five leagues diſtant; and, in this ſituation, we had forty-five fathoms water over a ſandy bottom. In rounding the Cape we had fifty fathoms, and the ſame ſort of bottom. Tueſday 11.

I now ſteered for Stephens's Iſland, which we came up with at nine o'clock at night; and at ten, next morning, anchored in our old ſtation, in Queen Charlotte's Sound *. Unwilling to loſe any time, our operations commenced that very afternoon, when we landed a number of empty water-caſks, and began to clear a place where we might ſet up Wedneſ. 12.

* See the Chart of Queen Charlotte's Sound, in Hawkeſworth's Collection, Vol. ii. p. 385.

the

1777. February. the two obſervatories, and tents for the reception of a guard, and of ſuch of our people whoſe buſineſs might make it neceſſary for them to remain on ſhore.

We had not been long at anchor before ſeveral canoes, filled with natives, came along-ſide of the ſhips; but very few of them would venture on board; which appeared the more extraordinary, as I was well known to them all. There was one man in particular amongſt them, whom I had treated with remarkable kindneſs, during the whole of my ſtay when I was laſt here. Yet now, neither profeſſions of friendſhip, nor preſents, could prevail upon him to come into the ſhip. This ſhyneſs was to be accounted for only upon this ſuppoſition, that they were apprehenſive we had reviſited their country, in order to revenge the death of Captain Furneaux's people. Seeing Omai on board my ſhip now, whom they muſt have remembered to have ſeen on board the Adventure when the melancholy affair happened, and whoſe firſt converſation with them, as they approached, generally turned on that ſubject, they muſt be well aſſured that I was no longer a ſtranger to it. I thought it neceſſary, therefore, to uſe every endeavour to aſſure them of the continuance of my friendſhip, and that I ſhould not diſturb them on that account. I do not know whether this had any weight with them; but certain it is, that they very ſoon laid aſide all manner of reſtraint and diſtruſt.

Thurſday 13. On the 13th we ſet up two tents, one from each ſhip; on the ſame ſpot where we had pitched them formerly. The obſervatories were at the ſame time erected; and Meſſrs. King and Bayly began their operations immediately, to find the rate of the time-keeper, and to make other obſervations. The remainder of the empty water-caſks were alſo ſent on ſhore,

ſhore, with the cooper to trim, and a ſufficient number of ſailors to fill them. Two men were appointed to brew ſpruce beer; and the carpenter and his crew were ordered to cut wood. A boat, with a party of men, under the direction of one of the mates, was ſent to collect graſs for our cattle; and the people that remained on board were employed in refitting the ſhip, and arranging the proviſions. In this manner, we were all profitably buſied during our ſtay. For the protection of the party on ſhore, I appointed a guard of ten marines, and ordered arms for all the workmen; and Mr. King, and two or three petty officers, conſtantly remained with them. A boat was never ſent to any conſiderable diſtance from the ſhips without being armed, and under the direction of ſuch officers as I could depend upon, and who were well acquainted with the natives. During my former viſits to this country, I had never taken ſome of theſe precautions; nor were they, I firmly believe, more neceſſary now than they had been formerly. But after the tragical fate of the Adventure's boat's crew in this ſound, and of Captain Marion du Freſne, and of ſome of his people, in the Bay of Iſlands*, it was impoſſible totally to diveſt ourſelves of all apprehenſion of experiencing a ſimilar calamity. 1777. February.

If the natives entertained any ſuſpicion of our revenging theſe acts of barbarity, they very ſoon laid it aſide. For, during the courſe of this day, a great number of families came from different parts of the coaſt, and took up their reſidence cloſe to us; ſo that there was not a ſpot in the cove where a hut could be put up, that was not occupied by them, except the place where we had fixed our little en-

* In 1772.

1776. February. campment. This they left us in quiet poſſeſſion of; but they came and took away the ruins of ſome old huts that were there, as materials for their new erections.

It is curious to obſerve with what facility they build theſe occaſional places of abode. I have ſeen above twenty of them erected on a ſpot of ground, that, not an hour before, was covered with ſhrubs and plants. They generally bring ſome part of the materials with them; the reſt they find upon the premiſes. I was preſent when a number of people landed, and built one of theſe villages. The moment the canoes reached the ſhore, the men leaped out, and at once took poſſeſſion of a piece of ground, by tearing up the plants and ſhrubs, or ſticking up ſome part of the framing of a hut. They then returned to their canoes, and ſecured their weapons, by ſetting them up againſt a tree, or placing them in ſuch a poſition, that they could be laid hold of in an inſtant. I took particular notice that no one neglected this precaution. While the men were employed in raiſing the huts, the women were not idle. Some were ſtationed to take care of the canoes; others to ſecure the proviſions, and the few utenſils in their poſſeſſion; and the reſt went to gather dry ſticks, that a fire might be prepared for dreſſing their victuals. As to the children, I kept them, as alſo ſome of the more aged, ſufficiently occupied in ſcrambling for beads, till I had emptied my pockets, and then I left them.

Theſe temporary habitations are abundantly ſufficient to afford ſhelter from the wind and rain, which is the only purpoſe they are meant to anſwer. I obſerved that, generally, if not always, the ſame tribe or family, though it were ever ſo large, aſſociated and built together; ſo that we frequently

quently ſaw a village, as well as their larger towns, divided into different diſtricts, by low palliſades, or ſome ſimilar mode of ſeparation. 1777. February.

The advantage we received from the natives coming to live with us, was not inconſiderable. For, every day, when the weather would permit, ſome of them went out to catch fiſh; and we generally got, by exchanges, a good ſhare of the produce of their labours. This ſupply, and what our own nets and lines afforded us, was ſo ample, that we ſeldom were in want of fiſh. Nor was there any deficiency of other refreſhments. Celery, ſcurvy-graſs, and portable ſoup were boiled with the peaſe and wheat, for both ſhips companies, every day during our whole ſtay; and they had ſpruce-beer for their drink. So that, if any of our people had contracted the ſeeds of the ſcurvy, ſuch a regimen ſoon removed them. But the truth is, when we arrived here, there were only two invalids (and theſe on board the Reſolution) upon the ſick liſts in both ſhips.

Beſides the natives who took up their abode cloſe to us, we were occaſionally viſited by others of them, whoſe reſidence was not far off; and by ſome who lived more remote. Their articles of commerce were, curioſities, fiſh, and women. The two firſt always came to a good market; which the latter did not. The ſeamen had taken a kind of diſlike to theſe people; and were either unwilling, or afraid, to aſſociate with them; which produced this good effect, that I knew no inſtance of a man's quitting his ſtation, to go to their habitations.

A connection with women I allow, becauſe I cannot prevent it; but never encourage, becauſe I always dread its conſequences. I know, indeed, that many men are of opi-

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nion, that ſuch an intercourſe is one of our greateſt ſecurities amongſt ſavages; and perhaps they who, either from neceſſity or choice, are to remain and ſettle with them, may find it ſo. But with travellers and tranſient viſiters, ſuch as we were, it is generally otherwiſe; and, in our ſituation, a connection with their women betrays more men than it ſaves. What elſe can be reaſonably expected, ſince all their views are ſelfiſh, without the leaſt mixture of regard or attachment? My own experience, at leaſt, which hath been pretty extenſive, hath not pointed out to me one inſtance to the contrary.

Amongſt our occaſional viſiters, was a chief named Kahoora, who, as I was informed, headed the party that cut off Captain Furneaux's people, and himſelf killed Mr. Rowe, the officer who commanded. To judge of the character of Kahoora, by what I heard from many of his countrymen, he ſeemed to be more feared than beloved amongſt them. Not ſatisfied with telling me that he was a very bad man, ſome of them even importuned me to kill him: and, I believe, they were not a little ſurpriſed that I did not liſten to them; for, according to their ideas of equity, this ought to have been done. But if I had followed the advice of all our pretended friends, I might have extirpated the whole race; for the people of each hamlet or village, by turns, applied to me to deſtroy the other. One would have almoſt thought it impoſſible, that ſo ſtriking a proof of the divided ſtate in which this miſerable people live, could have been aſſigned. And yet I was ſure that I did not miſconceive the meaning of thoſe who made theſe ſtrange applications to me; for Omai, whoſe language was a dialect of their own, and perfectly underſtood all that they ſaid, was our interpreter.

On the 15th, I made an excurſion in my boat to look for graſs, and viſited the Hippah, or fortified village at the South Weſt point of Motuara, and the places where our gardens had been planted on that iſland. There were no people at the former; but the houſes and palliſades had been rebuilt, and were now in a ſtate of good repair; and there were other evident marks of its having been inhabited not long before. It would be unneceſſary, at preſent, to give a particular account of this Hippah, ſufficient notice having been taken of it in the Account of my firſt Voyage, to which I refer*; and to the annexed drawing, which repreſents part of the inſide of the village, and will convey a better idea of it, than any written deſcription. 1777. February. Saturday 15.

When the Adventure arrived firſt at Queen Charlotte's Sound, in 1773†, Mr. Bayly fixed upon this place for making his obſervations; and he, and the people with him, at their leiſure hours, planted ſeveral ſpots with Engliſh garden ſeeds. Not the leaſt veſtige of theſe now remained. It is probable that they had been all rooted out to make room for buildings, when the village was reinhabited: for, at all the other gardens then planted by Captain Furneaux, although now wholly over-run with the weeds of the country, we found cabbages, onions, leeks, purſlain, radiſhes, muſtard, &c. and a few potatoes. Theſe potatoes, which were firſt brought from the Cape of Good Hope, had been greatly improved by change of ſoil; and, with proper cultivation, would be ſuperior to thoſe produced in moſt other countries. Though the New Zealanders are fond of this root, it was evident that they had not taken the trouble to plant a ſingle one (much leſs any other of the articles which we had introduced);

* Hawkeſworth's Collection, Vol. ii. p. 395, &c.

† Cook's Voyage, Vol. i. p. 120.

1777. February. troduced); and if it were not for the difficulty of clearing ground where potatoes had been once planted, there would not have been any now remaining.

Sunday 16. On the 16th, at day-break, I ſet out with a party of men, in five boats, to collect food for our cattle. Captain Clerke, and ſeveral of the officers, Omai, and two of the natives, accompanied me. We proceeded about three leagues up the ſound, and then landed on the Eaſt ſide, at a place where I had formerly been. Here we cut as much graſs as loaded the two launches.

As we returned down the ſound, we viſited Graſs Cove, the memorable ſcene of the Maſſacre of Captain Furneaux's people. Here I met with my old friend Pedro, who was almoſt continually with me the laſt time I was in this ſound, and is mentioned in my Hiſtory of that Voyage *. He, and another of his countrymen, received us on the beach, armed with the pa-too and ſpear. Whether this form of reception was a mark of their courteſy or of their fear, I cannot ſay; but I thought they betrayed manifeſt ſigns of the latter. However, if they had any apprehenſions, a few preſents ſoon removed them, and brought down to the beach two or three more of the family; but the greateſt part of them remained out of ſight.

Whilſt we were at this place, our curioſity prompted us to inquire into the circumſtances attending the melancholy fate of our countrymen; and Omai was made uſe of as our interpreter for this purpoſe. Pedro, and the reſt of the natives preſent, anſwered all the queſtions that were put to them on the ſubject, without reſerve, and like men who

* Captain Cook's Voyage, Vol. ii. p. 158, 159.

are

are under no dread of puniſhment for a crime of which they are not guilty. For we already knew that none of them had been concerned in the unhappy tranſaction. They told us, that while our people were ſitting at dinner, ſurrounded by ſeveral of the natives, ſome of the latter ſtole, or ſnatched from them, ſome bread and fiſh, for which they were beat. This being reſented, a quarrel enſued, and two New Zealanders were ſhot dead, by the only two muſquets that were fired. For before our people had time to diſcharge a third, or to load again thoſe that had been fired, the natives ruſhed in upon them, overpowered them with their numbers, and put them all to death. Pedro and his companions, beſides relating the hiſtory of the maſſacre, made us acquainted with the very ſpot that was the ſcene of it. It is at the corner of the cove on the right-hand. They pointed to the place of the ſun, to mark to us at what hour of the day it happened; and, according to this, it muſt have been late in the afternoon. They alſo ſhewed us the place where the boat lay; and it appeared to be about two hundred yards diſtant from that where the crew were ſeated. One of their number, a black ſervant of Captain Furneaux, was left in the boat to take care of her. 1777. February.

We were afterward told that this black was the cauſe of the quarrel, which was ſaid to have happened thus: One of the natives ſtealing ſomething out of the boat, the Negro gave him a ſevere blow with a ſtick. The cries of the fellow being heard by his countrymen at a diſtance, they imagined he was killed, and immediately began the attack on our people; who, before they had time to reach the boat, or to arm themſelves againſt the unexpected impending danger, fell a ſacrifice to the fury of their ſavage aſſailants.

The

1777. February.

The firſt of theſe accounts, was confirmed by the teſtimony of many of the natives, whom we converſed with, at different times, and who, I think, could have no intereſt in deceiving us. The ſecond manner of relating the tranſaction, reſts upon the authority of the young New Zealander, who choſe to abandon his country and go away with us, and who, conſequently, could have no poſſible view in diſguiſing the truth. All agreeing that the quarrel happened when the boat's crew were ſitting at their meal, it is highly probable that both the accounts are true, as they perfectly coincide. For we may very naturally ſuppoſe, that while ſome of the natives were ſtealing from the man who had been left in the boat, others of them might take the ſame liberties with the property of our people who were on ſhore.

Be this as it will, all agree, that the quarrel firſt took its riſe from ſome thefts, in the commiſſion of which the natives were detected. All agree, alſo, that there was no premeditated plan of bloodſhed, and that, if theſe thefts had not been, unfortunately, too haſtily reſented, no miſchief would have happened. For Kahoora's greateſt enemies, thoſe who ſolicited his deſtruction moſt earneſtly, at the ſame time confeſſed that he had no intention to quarrel, much leſs to kill, till the fray had actually commenced. It alſo appears that the unhappy victims were under no ſort of apprehenſion of their fate; otherwiſe they never would have ventured to ſit down to a répaſt at ſo conſiderable a diſtance from their boat, amongſt people who were the next moment to be their murderers. What became of the boat I never could learn. Some ſaid ſhe was pulled to pieces and burnt; others told us that ſhe was carried, they knew not whither, by a party of ſtrangers.

We

We ſtayed here till the evening, when, having loaded the reſt of the boats with graſs, celery, ſcurvy-graſs, &c. we embarked to return to the ſhips. We had prevailed upon Pedro to launch his canoe, and accompany us; but we had ſcarcely put off from the ſhore, when the wind began to blow very hard at North Weſt, which obliged him to put back. We proceeded ourſelves, but it was with a good deal of difficulty that we could reach the ſhips; where ſome of the boats did not arrive till one o'clock the next morning; and it was fortunate that they got on board then, for it afterward blew a perfect ſtorm, with abundance of rain, ſo that no manner of work could go forward that day. In the evening the gale ceaſed, and the wind having veered to the Eaſt, brought with it fair weather. 1777. February. Monday 17.

The next day we reſumed our works; the natives ventured out to catch fiſh; and Pedro, with all his family, came and took up his abode near us. This Chief's proper name is Matahouah; the other being given him by ſome of my people during my laſt Voyage, which I did not know till now. He was, however, equally well known amongſt his countrymen by both names. Tueſday 18.

On the 20th, in the forenoon, we had another ſtorm from the North Weſt. Though this was not of ſo long continuance as the former, the guſts of wind from the hills were far more violent, inſomuch that we were obliged to ſtrike the yards and top-maſts to the very utmoſt; and, even with all this precaution, it was with difficulty that we rode it out. Theſe ſtorms are very frequent here, and ſometimes violent and troubleſome. The neighbouring mountains, which at theſe times are always loaded with vapours, not only increaſe the force of the wind, but alter its direction in Thurſday 20.

1777. February. ſuch a manner, that no two blaſts follow each other from the ſame quarter; and the nearer the ſhore, the more their effects are felt.

The next day we were viſited by a tribe or family, conſiſting of about thirty perſons, men, women, and children, who came from the upper part of the Sound. I had never ſeen them before. The name of their Chief was Tomatongeauooranuc; a man of about forty-five years of age, with a cheerful open countenance. And, indeed, the reſt of his tribe were, in general, the handſomeſt of the New Zealand race I had ever met with.

By this time more than two-thirds of the inhabitants of the Sound had ſettled themſelves about us. Great numbers of them daily frequented the ſhips, and the encampment on ſhore: but the latter became, by far, the moſt favourite place of reſort, while our people there were melting ſome ſeal blubber. No Greenlander was ever fonder of train-oil, than our friends here ſeemed to be. They reliſhed the very ſkimmings of the kettle, and dregs of the caſks; but a little of the pure ſtinking oil was a delicious feaſt, ſo eagerly deſired, that I ſuppoſe it is ſeldom enjoyed.

Having got on board as much hay and graſs as we judged ſufficient to ſerve the cattle till our arrival at Otaheite, and having completed the wood and water of both ſhips, on
Sunday 23. the 23d we ſtruck our tents, and carried every thing off
Monday 24. from the ſhore; and next morning we weighed anchor, and ſtood out of the Cove. But the wind not being very fair, and finding that the tide of ebb would be ſpent before we could get out of the Sound, we caſt anchor again a little without the iſland Motuara, to wait for a more favourable opportunity of putting into the ſtrait.

While

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While we were unmooring and getting under ſail, Tomatongeauooranuc, Matahouah, and many more of the natives, came to take their leave of us, or rather to obtain, if they could, ſome additional preſents from us before we left them. Theſe two Chiefs became ſuitors to me for ſome goats and hogs. Accordingly, I gave to Matahouah two goats, a male and female with kid; and to Tomatongeauooranuc two pigs, a boar and a ſow. They made me a promiſe not to kill them; though I muſt own I put no great faith in this. The animals which Captain Furneaux ſent on ſhore here, and which ſoon after fell into the hands of the natives, I was now told were all dead; but I could get no intelligence about the fate of thoſe I had left in Weſt Bay, and in Cannibal Cove, when I was here in the courſe of my laſt Voyage. However, all the natives, whom I converſed with, agreed, that poultry are now to be met with wild in the woods behind Ship Cove; and I was afterward informed, by the two youths who went away with us, that Tiratou, a popular Chief amongſt them, had a great many cocks and hens in his ſeparate poſſeſſion, and one of the ſows.

On my preſent arrival at this place, I fully intended to have left not only goats and hogs, but ſheep, and a young bull, with two heifers, if I could have found either a Chief powerful enough to protect and keep them, or a place where there might be a probability of their being concealed from thoſe who would ignorantly attempt to deſtroy them. But neither the one nor the other preſented itſelf to me. Tiratou was now abſent; and Tringoboohee, whom I had met with during my laſt Voyage *, and who ſeemed to be a perſon of much conſequence at that time, had been killed five

* See Cook's Voyage, Vol. ii. p. 157.

1777. February. months ago, with about ſeventy perſons of his tribe; and I could not learn that there now remained in our neighbourhood any tribe, whoſe numbers could ſecure to them a ſuperiority of power over the reſt of their countrymen. To have given the animals to any of the natives who poſſeſſed no ſuch power, would not have anſwered the intention. For in a country like this, where no man's property is ſecure, they would ſoon have fallen a prey to different parties, and been either ſeparated or killed; but moſt likely both. This was ſo evident, from what we had obſerved ſince our arrival, that I had reſolved to leave no kind of animal, till Matahouah and the other Chief ſolicited me for the hogs and goats. As I could ſpare them, I let them go, to take their chance. I have, at different times, left in New Zealand, not leſs than ten or a dozen hogs, beſides thoſe put on ſhore by Captain Furneaux. It will be a little extraordinary, therefore, if this race ſhould not increaſe and be preſerved here, either in a wild or in a domeſtic ſtate, or in both.

We had not been long at anchor near Motuara, before three or four canoes, filled with natives, came off to us from the South Eaſt ſide of the Sound; and a briſk trade was carried on with them for the curioſities of this place. In one of theſe canoes was Kahoora, whom I have already mentioned as the leader of the party who cut off the crew of the Adventure's boat. This was the third time he had viſited us, without betraying the ſmalleſt appearance of fear. I was aſhore when he now arrived, but had got on board juſt as he was going away. Omai, who had returned with me, preſently pointed him out, and ſolicited me to ſhoot him. Not ſatisfied with this, he addreſſed himſelf to Kahoora, threatening

threatening to be his executioner, if ever he preſumed to viſit us again. 1777. February.

The New Zealander paid ſo little regard to theſe threats, that he returned, the next morning, with his whole family, men, women, and children, to the number of twenty and upwards. Omai was the firſt who acquainted me with his being along-ſide the ſhip, and deſired to know if he ſhould aſk him to come on board. I told him he might; and accordingly he introduced the Chief into the cabin, ſaying, "There is Kahoora; kill him!" But, as if he had forgot his former threats, or were afraid that I ſhould call upon him to perform them, he immediately retired. In a ſhort time, however, he returned; and ſeeing the Chief unhurt, he expoſtulated with me very earneſtly, ſaying, "Why do "you not kill him? You tell me, if a man kills another in "England, that he is hanged for it. This man has killed "ten, and yet you will not kill him; though many of his "countrymen deſire it, and it would be very good." Omai's arguments, though ſpecious enough, having no weight with me, I deſired him to aſk the Chief, why he had killed Captain Furneaux's people? At this queſtion, Kahoora folded his arms, hung down his head, and looked like one caught in a trap: And, I firmly believe, he expected inſtant death. But no ſooner was he aſſured of his ſafety, than he became cheerful. He did not, however, ſeem willing to give me an anſwer to the queſtion that had been put to him, till I had, again and again, repeated my promiſe that he ſhould not be hurt. Then he ventured to tell us, That one of his countrymen having brought a ſtone hatchet to barter, the man, to whom it was offered, took it, and would neither return it, nor give any thing for it; on which the owner of Tueſday 25.

1777. February. it ſnatched up the bread as an equivalent; and then the quarrel began.

The remainder of Kahoora's account of this unhappy affair, differed very little from what we had before learnt, from the reſt of his countrymen. He mentioned the narrow eſcape he had, during the fray; a muſquet being levelled at him, which he avoided by ſkulking behind the boat; and another man, who ſtood cloſe to him, was ſhot dead. As ſoon as the muſquet was diſcharged, he inſtantly ſeized the opportunity to attack Mr. Rowe, who commanded the party, and who defended himſelf with his hanger (with which he wounded Kahoora in the arm), till he was overpowered by numbers.

Mr. Burney, who was ſent by Captain Furneaux the next day *, with an armed party, to look for his miſſing people, upon diſcovering the horrid proofs of their ſhocking fate, had fired ſeveral vollies amongſt the crowds of natives who ſtill remained aſſembled on the ſpot, and were, probably, partaking of the deteſtable banquet. It was natural to ſuppoſe that he had not fired in vain; and that, therefore, ſome of the murderers and devourers of our unhappy countrymen had ſuffered under our juſt reſentment. Upon inquiry, however, into this matter, not only from Kahoora, but from others who had opportunities of knowing, it appeared that our ſuppoſition was groundleſs, and that not one of the ſhot fired by Mr. Burney's people had taken effect, ſo as to kill, or even to hurt, a ſingle perſon.

It was evident, that moſt of the natives we had met with ſince our arrival, as they knew I was fully acquainted with

* See his Narrative. Cook's Voyage, Vol. ii. p. 255—259.

the

the hiſtory of the maſſacre, expected I ſhould avenge it with the death of Kahoora. And many of them ſeemed not only to wiſh it, but expreſſed their ſurprize at my forbearance. As he could not be ignorant of this, it was a matter of wonder to me, that he put himſelf ſo often in my power. When he viſited us while the ſhips lay in the Cove, confiding in the number of his friends that accompanied him, he might think himſelf ſafe. But his two laſt viſits had been made under ſuch circumſtances, that he could no longer rely upon this. We were then at anchor in the entrance of the Sound, and at ſome diſtance from any ſhore; ſo that he could not have any aſſiſtance from thence, nor flatter himſelf he could have the means of making his eſcape, had I determined to detain him. And yet, after his firſt fears, on being interrogated, were over, he was ſo far from entertaining any uneaſy ſenſations, that, on ſeeing a portrait of one of his countrymen hanging up in the cabin, he deſired to have his own portrait drawn; and ſat till Mr. Webber had finiſhed it, without marking the leaſt impatience. I muſt confeſs, I admired his courage, and was not a little pleaſed to obſerve the extent of the confidence he put in me. For he placed his whole ſafety in the declarations I had uniformly made to thoſe who ſolicited his death, That I had always been a friend to them all, and would continue ſo, unleſs they gave me cauſe to act otherwiſe: that as to their inhuman treatment of our people, I ſhould think no more of it, the tranſaction having happened long ago, and when I was not preſent; but that, if ever they made a ſecond attempt of that kind, they might reſt aſſured of feeling the weight of my reſentment. 1777. February.

For ſome time before we arrived at New Zealand, Omai had expreſſed a deſire to take one of the natives with him to

1777. February. his own country. We had not been there many days, before he had an opportunity of being gratified in this; for a youth about ſeventeen or eighteen years of age, named Taweiharooa, offered to accompany him; and took up his reſidence on board. I paid little attention to this at firſt, imagining that he would leave us when we were about to depart, and after he had got what he could from Omai. At length, finding that he was fixed in his reſolution to go with us, and having learnt that he was the only ſon of a deceaſed Chief, and that his mother, ſtill living, was a woman much reſpected here, I was apprehenſive that Omai had deceived him and his friends, by giving them hopes and aſſurances of his being ſent back. I therefore cauſed it to be made known to them all, that if the young man went away with us, he would never return. But this declaration ſeemed to make no ſort of impreſſion. The afternoon before we left the Cove, Tiratoutou, his mother, came on board, to receive her laſt preſent from Omai. The ſame evening, ſhe and Taweiharooa parted, with all the marks of tender affection that might be expected between a parent and a child, who were never to meet again. But ſhe ſaid ſhe would cry no more; and, ſure enough, ſhe kept her word. For when ſhe returned the next morning, to take her laſt farewell of him, all the time ſhe was on board ſhe remained quite cheerful, and went away wholly unconcerned.

That Taweiharooa might be ſent away in a manner becoming his birth, another youth was to have gone with him as his ſervant; and, with this view, as we ſuppoſed, he remained on board till we were about to ſail, when his friends took him aſhore. However, his place was ſupplied, next morning, by another, a boy of about nine or ten years of age,

age, named Kokoa. He was preſented to me by his own father, who, I believe, would have parted with his dog with far leſs indifference. The very little clothing the boy had, he ſtript him of, and left him as naked as he was born. It was to no purpoſe that I endeavoured to convince theſe people of the improbability, or rather of the impoſſibility, of theſe youths ever returning home. Not one, not even their neareſt relations, ſeemed to trouble themſelves about their future fate. Since this was the caſe, and I was well ſatisfied that the boys would be no loſers by exchange of place, I the more readily gave my conſent to their going. 1777. February.

From my own obſervations, and from the information of Taweiharooa and others, it appears to me that the New Zealanders muſt live under perpetual apprehenſions of being deſtroyed by each other; there being few of their tribes that have not, as they think, ſuſtained wrongs from ſome other tribe, which they are continually upon the watch to revenge. And, perhaps, the deſire of a good meal may be no ſmall incitement. I am told that many years will ſometimes elapſe, before a favourable opportunity happens, and that the ſon never loſes ſight of an injury that has been done to his father. Their method of executing their horrible deſigns, is by ſtealing upon the adverſe party in the night; and if they find them unguarded (which, however, I believe, is very ſeldom the caſe), they kill every one indiſcriminately; not even ſparing the women and children. When the maſſacre is completed, they either feaſt and gorge themſelves on the ſpot, or carry off as many of the dead bodies as they can, and devour them at home, with acts of brutality too ſhocking to be deſcribed. If they are diſcovered before they can execute their bloody purpoſe, they generally ſteal off again; and ſometimes are purſued and

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attacked by the other party, in their turn. To give quarter, or to take priſoners, makes no part of their military law; ſo that the vanquiſhed can only ſave their lives by flight. This perpetual ſtate of war, and deſtructive method of conducting it, operates ſo ſtrongly in producing habitual circumſpection, that one hardly ever finds a New Zealander off his guard, either by night or by day. Indeed, no other man can have ſuch powerful motives to be vigilant, as the preſervation both of body and of ſoul depends upon it. For, according to their ſyſtem of belief, the ſoul of the man whoſe fleſh is devoured by the enemy, is doomed to a perpetual fire, while the ſoul of the man whoſe body has been reſcued from thoſe who killed him, as well as the ſouls of all who die a natural death, aſcend to the habitations of the Gods. I aſked, Whether they eat the fleſh of ſuch of their friends as had been killed in war, but whoſe bodies were ſaved from falling into the enemy's hands? They ſeemed ſurpriſed at the queſtion, which they anſwered in the negative, expreſſing ſome abhorrence at the very idea. Their common method of diſpoſing of their dead, is by depoſiting their bodies in the earth; but if they have more of their ſlaughtered enemies than they can eat, they throw them into the ſea.

They have no ſuch thing as *morais*, or other places of public worſhip; nor do they ever aſſemble together with this view. But they have Prieſts, who alone addreſs the Gods in prayers, for the proſperity of their temporal affairs; ſuch as an enterpriſe againſt a hoſtile tribe, a fiſhing party, or the like.

Whatever the principles of their religion may be, of which we remain very ignorant, its inſtructions are very ſtrongly inculcated

inculcated into them from their very infancy. Of this I ſaw a remarkable inſtance, in the youth who was firſt deſtined to accompany Taweiharooa. He refrained from eating the greateſt part of the day, on account of his hair being cut; though every method was tried to induce him to break his reſolution; and he was tempted with the offer of ſuch victuals as he was known to eſteem the moſt. He ſaid, if he eat any thing that day, the *Eatooa* would kill him. However, towards evening, the cravings of nature got the better of the precepts of his religion, and he eat, though but ſparingly. I had often conjectured, before this, that they had ſome ſuperſtitious notions about their hair, having frequently obſerved quantities of it tied to the branches of trees near ſome of their habitations; but what theſe notions are, I never could learn. 1777. February.

Notwithſtanding the divided and hoſtile ſtate in which the New Zealanders live, travelling ſtrangers, who come with no ill deſign, are well received and entertained during their ſtay; which, however, it is expected, will be no longer than is requiſite to tranſact the buſineſs they come upon. Thus it is that a trade for *poenammoo*, or green talc, is carried on throughout the whole northern iſland. For they tell us, that there is none of this ſtone to be found, but at a place which bears its name, ſomewhere about the head of Queen Charlotte's Sound, and not above one or two days journey, at moſt, from the ſtation of our ſhips. I regretted much that I could not ſpare time ſufficient for paying a viſit to the place; as we were told a hundred fabulous ſtories about this ſtone, not one of which carried with it the leaſt probability of truth, though ſome of their moſt ſenſible men would have us believe them. One of theſe ſtories is, that this ſtone is originally a fiſh, which they ſtrike with a gig

1777. February. in the water, tie a rope to it, and drag it to the ſhore, to which they faſten it, and it afterward becomes ſtone. As they all agree, that it is fiſhed out of a large lake, or collection of waters, the moſt probable conjecture is, that it is brought from the mountains, and depoſited in the water, by the torrents. This lake is called by the natives *Tavai Poenammoo*; that is, the water of Green Talc; and it is only the adjoining part of the country, and not the whole Southern iſland of New Zealand, that is known to them by the name which hath been given to it on my chart *.

Polygamy is allowed amongſt theſe people; and it is not uncommon for a man to have two or three wives. The women are marriageable at a very early age; and it ſhould ſeem, that one who is unmarried, is but in a forlorn ſtate. She can with difficulty get a ſubſiſtence; at leaſt, ſhe is, in a great meaſure, without a protector, though in conſtant want of a powerful one.

The New Zealanders ſeem to be a people perfectly ſatisfied with the little knowledge they are maſters of, without attempting, in the leaſt, to improve it. Nor are they remarkably curious, either in their obſervations, or their inquiries. New objects do not ſtrike them with ſuch a degree of ſurprize as one would naturally expect; nor do they even fix their attention for a moment. Omai, indeed, who was a great favourite with them, would ſometimes attract a circle about him; but they ſeemed to liſten to his ſpeeches, like perſons who neither underſtood, nor wiſhed to underſtand, what they heard.

One day, on our inquiring of Taweiharooa, how many ſhips, ſuch as ours, had ever arrived in Queen Charlotte's

* See Captain Cook's chart of New Zealand, in Hawkeſ. Coll. vol. ii. p. 281.

Sound, or in any part of its neighbourhood? He began with giving an account of one abſolutely unknown to us. This, he ſaid, had put into a port on the North Weſt coaſt of Teerawitte, but a very few years before I arrived in the Sound in the Endeavour, which the New Zealanders diſtinguiſh, by calling Tupia's ſhip. At firſt, I thought he might have been miſtaken as to the time and place; and that the ſhip in queſtion might be either Monſieur Surville's, who is ſaid to have touched upon the North Eaſt coaſt of Eaheinomauwe, the ſame year I was there in the Endeavour; or elſe Monſieur Marion du Freſne's, who was in the Bay of Iſlands, on the ſame coaſt, a few years after. But he aſſured us, that he was not miſtaken, either as to the time, or as to the place of this ſhip's arrival; and that it was well known to every body about Queen Charlotte's Sound and Teerawitte. He ſaid, that the Captain of her, during his ſtay here, cohabited with a woman of the country; and that ſhe had a ſon by him ſtill living, and about the age of Kokoa; who, though not born then, ſeemed to be equally well acquainted with the ſtory. We were alſo informed by Taweiharooa, that this ſhip firſt introduced the venereal diſeaſe amongſt the New Zealanders. I wiſh that ſubſequent viſiters from Europe may not have their ſhare of guilt, in leaving ſo dreadful a remembrance of them amongſt this unhappy race. The diſorder now is but too common here; though they do not ſeem to regard it; ſaying, that its effects are not near ſo pernicious at preſent, as they were at its firſt appearance. The only method, as far as I ever heard, that they make uſe of as a remedy, is by giving the patient the uſe of a ſort of hot bath, which they produce by the ſteam of certain green plants laid over hot ſtones.

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I regretted

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I regretted much that we did not hear of this ſhip while we were in the Sound; as, by means of Omai, we might have had full and correct information about her from eye-witneſſes. For Taweiharooa's account was only from what he had been told, and therefore liable to many miſtakes. I have not the leaſt doubt, however, that his teſtimony may ſo far be depended upon, as to induce us to believe, that a ſhip really had been at Teerawitte prior to my arrival in the Endeavour, as it correſponds with what I had formerly heard. For in the latter end of 1773, the ſecond time I viſited New Zealand, during my laſt voyage, when we were continually making inquiries about the Adventure, after our ſeparation, ſome of the natives informed us of a ſhip's having been in a port on the coaſt of Teerawitte. But, at that time, we thought we muſt have miſunderſtood them, and took no notice of the intelligence.

The arrival of this unknown ſhip has been marked by the New Zealanders with more cauſes of remembrance, than the unhappy one juſt mentioned. Taweiharooa told us, their country was indebted to her people for the preſent of an animal, which they left behind them. But as he had not ſeen it himſelf, no ſort of judgment could be formed from his deſcription, of what kind it was.

We had another piece of intelligence from him, more correctly given, though not confirmed by our own obſervations, that there are ſnakes and lizards there of an enormous ſize. He deſcribed the latter as being eight feet in length, and as big round as a man's body. He ſaid, they ſometimes ſeize and devour men; that they burrow in the ground; and that they are killed by making fires at the mouths of the holes. We could not be miſtaken as to the animal; for,

with his own hand, he drew a very good repreſentation of a lizard on a piece of paper; as alſo of a ſnake, in order to ſhew what he meant. 1777. February.

Though much has been ſaid, in the Narratives of my Two former Voyages, about this country and its inhabitants, Mr. Anderſon's Remarks, as ſerving either to confirm or to correct our former accounts, may not be ſuperfluous. He had been three times with me in Queen Charlotte's Sound, during my laſt Voyage; and, after this fourth viſit, what he thought proper to record, may be conſidered as the reſult of ſufficient obſervation. The Reader will find it in the next Chapter; and I have nothing farther to add, before I quit New Zealand, but to give ſome account of the aſtronomical and nautical obſervations made during our ſtay there.

The Longitude of the Obſervatory in Ship Cove, by a mean of 103 ſets of obſervations, each ſet conſiſting of ſix or more obſerved diſtances, was - - -	174°	25′	15″	Eaſt.
By the time-keeper, at Greenwich rate, it was - - - - - - -	175	26	30	
By ditto, at the Cape rate, it was -	174	56	12	
Variation of the compaſs, being the mean of ſix needles, obſerved on board the ſhip	12	40	0	Eaſt.
By the ſame needles on ſhore, it was -	13	53	0	
The dip of the South end, obſerved on ſhore, was - - - - - -	63	42	0	

By a mean of the reſults of eleven days obſervations, the time-keeper was too ſlow for mean time, on February 22 at noon, by 11ʰ 50′ 37″,396; and ſhe was found to be loſing on

1777. February. on mean time, at the rate of 2″,913 *per* day. From this rate the longitude will be computed, till ſome other opportunity offers to aſcertain her rate anew. The aſtronomical clock, with the ſame length of pendulum as at Greenwich, was found to be loſing on ſidereal time 40″,239 *per* day.

It will not be amiſs to mention, that the longitude, by lunar obſervations, as above, differs only 6′ 45″ from what Mr. Wales made it during my laſt Voyage; his being ſo much more to the Weſt, or 174° 18′ 30″.

The latitude of Ship Cove is 41° 6′ 0″, as found by Mr. Wales.

CHAP. VIII.

Mr. Anderſon's Remarks on the Country near Queen Charlotte's Sound.—The Soil.—Climate.—Weather.—Winds.—Trees.—Plants.—Birds.—Fiſh.—Other Animals.—Of the Inhabitants.—Deſcription of their Perſons.—Their Dreſs.—Ornaments.—Habitations.—Boats.—Food and Cookery.—Arts.—Weapons.—Cruelty to Priſoners.—Various Cuſtoms.—Specimen of their Language.

THE land every where about Queen Charlotte's Sound is uncommonly mountainous, riſing immediately from the ſea into large hills with blunted tops. At conſiderable diſtances are valleys, or rather impreſſions on the ſides of the hills, which are not deep; each terminating toward the ſea in a ſmall cove, with a pebbly or ſandy beach; behind which are ſmall flats, where the natives generally build their huts, at the ſame time hauling their canoes upon the beaches. This ſituation is the more convenient, as in every cove a brook of very fine water (in which are ſome ſmall trout) empties itſelf into the ſea. 1777. February.

The baſes of theſe mountains, at leaſt toward the ſhore, are conſtituted of a brittle, yellowiſh ſand-ſtone, which acquires a bluiſh caſt, where the ſea waſhes it. It runs, at ſome places, in horizontal, and, at other places, in oblique *ſtrata*; being frequently divided, at ſmall diſtances, by thin

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veins of coarſe *quartz*, which commonly follow the direction of the other; though they ſometimes interſect it. The mould, or ſoil, which covers this, is alſo of a yellowiſh caſt, not unlike marl; and is commonly from a foot to two, or more, in thickneſs.

The quality of this ſoil is beſt indicated by the luxuriant growth of its productions. For the hills (except a few toward the ſea, which are covered with ſmaller buſhes) are one continued foreſt of lofty trees, flouriſhing with a vigour almoſt ſuperior to any thing that imagination can conceive, and affording an auguſt proſpect to thoſe who are delighted with the grand and beautiful works of nature.

The agreeable temperature of the climate, no doubt, contributes much to this uncommon ſtrength in vegetation. For, at this time, though anſwering to our month of Auguſt, the weather was never diſagreeably warm; nor did it raiſe the thermometer higher than 66°. The winter, alſo, ſeems equally mild with reſpect to cold: for in June 1773, which correſponds to our December, the mercury never fell lower than 48°; and the trees, at that time, retained their verdure, as if in the Summer ſeaſon; ſo that, I believe, their foliage is never ſhed, till puſhed off by the ſucceeding leaves in ſpring.

The weather, in general, is good; but ſometimes windy, with heavy rain; which, however, never laſts above a day; nor does it appear that it is ever exceſſive. For there are no marks of torrents ruſhing down the hills, as in many countries; and the brooks, if we may judge from their channels, ſeem never to be greatly increaſed. I have obſerved, in the four different times of my being here, that the winds from

from the South Eaſtward are commonly moderate, but attended with cloudy weather, or rain. The South Weſt winds blow very ſtrong, and are alſo attended with rain; but they ſeldom laſt long. The North Weſt winds are the moſt prevailing; and though often pretty ſtrong, are almoſt conſtantly connected with fine weather. In ſhort, the only obſtacle to this being one of the fineſt countries upon earth, is its great hilſineſs; which, allowing the woods to be cleared away, would leave it leſs proper for paſturage than flat land; and ſtill more improper for cultivation, which could never be effected here by the plough. 1777. February.

The large trees which cover the hills are chiefly of two ſorts. One of them, of the ſize of our largeſt firs, grows much after their manner; but the leaves, and ſmall berries on their points, are much liker the yew. It was this which ſupplied the place of ſpruce in making beer; which we did with a ſtrong decoction of its leaves, fermented with treacle or ſugar. And this liquor, when well prepared, was acknowledged to be little inferior to the American ſpruce beer, by thoſe who had experience of both. The other ſort of tree is not unlike a maple; and grows often to a great ſize; but it only ſerved for fuel, as the wood, both of this and of the preceding, was found to be rather too heavy for maſts, yards, and other ſimilar repairs.

There is a greater variety of trees on the ſmall flat ſpots behind the beaches. Amongſt theſe are two that bear a kind of plum of the ſize of prunes; the one yellow, called *karraca*; and the other black, called *maitao*; but neither of them of a very agreeable taſte; though the natives eat both, and our people did the ſame. Thoſe of the firſt ſort grow

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on ſmall trees, always facing the ſea; but the others belong to larger trees that ſtand farther within the wood, and which we frequently cut down for fuel.

A ſpecies of *Philadelphus* grows on the eminences which jut out into the ſea; and alſo a tree bearing flowers almoſt like myrtle, with roundiſh ſpotted leaves of a diſagreeable ſmell. We drank the leaves of the *Philadelphus* as tea; and found that they had a pleaſant taſte and ſmell, and might make an excellent ſubſtitute for the oriental ſort *.

Among other plants that were uſeful to us, may be reckoned wild celery, which grows plentifully in almoſt every cove; eſpecially if the natives have ever reſided there before; and one that we uſed to call ſcurvy-graſs, though entirely different from the plant to which we give that name. This, however, is far preferable to ours for common uſe; and may be known by its jagged leaves, and ſmall cluſters of white flowers on the top. Both ſorts were boiled every morning, with wheat ground in a mill, and with portable ſoup, for the people's breakfaſt; and alſo amongſt their peaſe-ſoup, for dinner. Sometimes they were uſed as ſallad, or dreſſed as greens. In all which ways they are good; and, together with the fiſh, with which we were conſtantly ſupplied, they formed a ſort of refreſhment, perhaps little inferior to what is to be met with in places moſt noted by navigators for plentiful ſupplies of animal and vegetable food.

Amongſt the known kinds of plants met with here, are common and rough bindweed; night-ſhade and nettles, both

* See a repreſentation of this, *Plate* N° XXII. in Captain *Cook's Account of his Second Voyage*, Vol. i. p. 100.

which

which grow to the ſize of ſmall trees; a ſhrubby ſpeedwell, found near all the beaches; ſow-thiſtles, virgin's bower, vanelloe, French willow, euphorbia, and crane's-bill: alſo cudweed, ruſhes, bull-ruſhes, flax, all-heal, American night-ſhade, knot-graſs, brambles, eye-bright, and groundſel; but the *ſpecies* of each are different from any we have in Europe. There is alſo polypody, ſpleenwort, and about twenty other different ſorts of ferns, entirely peculiar to the place; with ſeveral ſorts of moſſes, either rare, or produced only here; beſides a great number of other plants, whoſe uſes are not yet known, and ſubjects fit only for botanical books. 1777. February.

Of theſe, however, there is one which deſerves particular notice here, as the natives make their garments of it, and it produces a fine ſilky flax, ſuperior in appearance to any thing we have; and probably, at leaſt, as ſtrong. It grows every where near the ſea, and in ſome places a conſiderable way up the hills, in bunches or tufts, with ſedge-like leaves, bearing, on a long ſtalk, yellowiſh flowers, which are ſucceeded by a long roundiſh pod, filled with very thin ſhining black ſeeds. A ſpecies of long pepper is found in great plenty; but it has little of the aromatic flavour that makes ſpices valuable; and a tree much like a palm at a diſtance, is pretty frequent in the woods, though the deceit appears as you come near it. It is remarkable that, as the greateſt part of the trees and plants had, at this time, loſt their flowers, we perceived they were generally of the berry-bearing kind; of which, and other ſeeds, I brought away about thirty different ſorts. Of theſe, one in particular, which bears a red berry, is much like the ſupple-jack, and grows about the trees, ſtretching from one to another, in ſuch a manner as to render the woods almoſt wholly impaſſable.

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The birds, of which there is a tolerable ſtock, as well as the vegetable productions, are almoſt entirely peculiar to the place. And though it be difficult to follow them, on account of the quantity of underwood, and the climbing plants, that render travelling, for pleaſure alone, uncommonly fatiguing, yet a perſon, by remaining in one place, may ſhoot as many in a day as would ſerve ſix or eight others. The principal ſorts are, large brown parrots, with white or greyiſh heads; green parroquets, with red foreheads; large wood pigeons, brown above, with white bellies, the reſt green, and the bill and feet red. Two ſorts of cuckoos, one as large as our common ſort, of a brown colour, variegated with black; the other not larger than a ſparrow, of a ſplendid green caſt above, and elegantly varied with waves of golden, green, brown, and white colours below. Both theſe are ſcarce; but ſeveral others are in greater plenty; one of which, of a black colour, with a greeniſh caſt, is remarkable for having a tuft of white curled feathers hanging under the throat, and was called the *Poy* bird * by our people. Another ſort, rather ſmaller, is black, with a brown back and wings, and two ſmall gills under the root of the bill. This we called the ſmall wattle bird, to diſtinguiſh it from another, which we called the large one, of the ſize of a common pigeon, with two large yellow and purple membranes alſo, at the root of the bill. It is black, or rather blue, and has no reſemblance of the other but in name; for the bill is thick, ſhort, and crooked, and has altogether an uncommon appearance. A groſs-beak, about the ſize of a thruſh, of a brown colour, with a reddiſh tail, is frequent; as is alſo a ſmall greeniſh bird, which

* See a drawing of this bird, *Plate* N° LII. *in Captain Cook's Account of his Second Voyage*, Vol. i. p. 97. It had this name from its tuft of feathers, reſembling the white flowers uſed as ornaments in the ears at Otaheite, and called there Poowa.

is almoſt the only muſical one here, but is ſufficient by itſelf to fill the woods with a melody, that is not only ſweet, but ſo varied, that one would imagine he was ſurrounded by a hundred different ſorts of birds, when the little warbler is near. From this circumſtance we named it the mocking bird. There are likewiſe three or four ſorts of ſmaller birds; one of which, in figure and tameneſs, exactly reſembles our robin, but is black where that is brown, and white where that is red. Another differs but little from this, except in being ſmaller; and a third ſort has a long tail, which it expands as a fan on coming near, and makes a chirping noiſe when it perches. King-fiſhers are ſeen, though rare, and are about the ſize of our Engliſh ones, but with an inferior plumage. 1777. February.

About the rocks are ſeen black ſea-pies with red bills; and creſted ſhags of a leaden colour, with ſmall black ſpots on the wings and ſhoulders, and the reſt of the upper part, of a velvet black tinged with green. We frequently ſhot both theſe, and alſo a more common ſort of ſhags, black above and white underneath, that build their neſts upon trees, on which ſometimes a dozen or more ſit at once. There are alſo, about the ſhore, a few ſea-gulls; ſome blue herons; and ſometimes, though very rarely, wild ducks; a ſmall ſandy coloured plover, and ſome ſand larks. And ſmall penguins black above, with a white belly, as well as numbers of little black divers, ſwim often about the Sound. We likewiſe killed two or three rails of a brown or yellowiſh colour, variegated with black, which feed about the ſmall brooks, and are nearly as large as a common fowl. No other ſort of game was ſeen, except a ſingle ſnipe, which was ſhot, and differs but little from that of Europe.

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The principal fiſh we caught by the Seine were mullets and elephant fiſh, with a few ſoles and flounders; but thoſe that the natives moſtly ſupplied us with, were a ſort of ſea-bream of a ſilver colour with a black ſpot on the neck, large Conger eels, and a fiſh in ſhape much like the bream, but ſo large as to weigh five, ſix, or ſeven pounds. It is blackiſh with thick lips, and called *Mogge* by the natives. With hook and line we caught chiefly a blackiſh fiſh of the ſize of a haddock, called cole-fiſh by the ſeamen, but differing much from that known by the ſame name in Europe; and another of the ſame ſize, of a reddiſh colour with a little beard, which we called night walkers, from the greateſt number being caught in the night. Sometimes we got a ſort of ſmall ſalmon, gurnards, ſkate, and nurſes; and the natives, now and then, brought hake, paracutas, a ſmall ſort of mackerel, parrot-fiſh, and leather-jackets; beſides another fiſh which is very rare, ſhaped almoſt like a dolphin, of a black colour, with ſtrong bony jaws, and the back-fin, as well as thoſe oppoſite to it, much lengthened at the end. All theſe ſorts, except the laſt, which we did not try, are excellent to eat; but the *Mogge*, ſmall ſalmon, and cole-fiſh are ſuperior to the reſt.

The rocks are abundantly furniſhed with great quantities of excellent muſcles; one ſort of which, that is not very common, meaſures above a foot in length. There are alſo cockles buried in the ſand of the ſmall beaches; and in ſome places oyſters, which, though very ſmall, are well taſted. Of other ſhell-fiſh there are ten or twelve ſorts, ſuch as periwinckles, wilks, limpets, and ſome very beautiful ſea-ears; alſo another ſort which ſtick to the weeds; with ſome other things, as ſea-eggs, ſtar-fiſh, &c. ſeveral of which are peculiar

culiar to the place. The natives likewiſe ſometimes brought us very fine cray-fiſh, equal to our largeſt lobſters, and cuttle fiſh, which they eat themſelves. 1777. February.

Inſects are very rare. Of theſe, we only ſaw two ſorts of dragon-flies, ſome butterflies, ſmall graſhoppers, ſeveral ſorts of ſpiders, ſome ſmall black ants, and vaſt numbers of ſcorpion flies, with whoſe chirping the woods reſound. The only noxious one is the ſand-fly, very numerous here, and almoſt as troubleſome as the muſquitoe; for we found no reptile here, except two or three ſorts of ſmall harmleſs lizards *.

It is remarkable, that, in this extenſive land, there ſhould not even be the traces of any quadruped, only excepting a few rats, and a ſort of fox-dog, which is a domeſtic animal with the natives.

Neither is there any mineral worth notice, but a green jaſper or ſerpent-ſtone, of which the New Zealanders make their tools and ornaments. This is eſteemed a precious article by them; and they have ſome ſuperſtitious notions about the method of its generation, which we could not perfectly underſtand. It is plain, however, that wherever it may be found (which, they ſay, is in the channel of a large river far to the Southward), it is diſpoſed in the earth in thin layers, or, perhaps, in detached pieces, like our flints; for the edges of thoſe pieces, which have not been cut, are covered with a whitiſh cruſt like theſe. A piece of this ſort was purchaſed, about eighteen inches long, a foot broad, and near two inches thick; which yet ſeemed to be only the fragment of a larger piece.

* In a ſeparate memorandum-book, Mr. Anderſon mentions the monſtrous animal of the lizard kind, deſcribed by the two boys after they left the iſland.

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The natives do not exceed the common ſtature of Europeans; and, in general, are not ſo well made, eſpecially about the limbs. This is, perhaps, the effect of ſitting, for the moſt part, on their hams; and of being confined, by the hilly diſpoſition of the country, from uſing that ſort of exerciſe which contributes to render the body ſtraight and well-proportioned. There are, however, ſeveral exceptions to this; and ſome are remarkable for their large bones and muſcles; but few that I have ſeen are corpulent.

Their colour is of different caſts, from a pretty deep black to a yellowiſh or olive tinge; and their features alſo are various, ſome reſembling Europeans. But, in general, their faces are round, with their lips full, and alſo their noſes toward the point; though the firſt are not uncommonly thick, nor the laſt flat. I do not, however, recollect to have ſeen an inſtance of the true aquiline noſe amongſt them. Their teeth are commonly broad, white, and well ſet; and their eyes large, with a very free motion, which ſeems the effect of habit. Their hair is black, ſtraight, and ſtrong, commonly cut ſhort on the hind part, with the reſt tied on the crown of the head: but ſome have it of a curling diſpoſition, or of a brown colour. In the young, the countenance is generally free or open; but in many of the men it has a ſerious caſt, and ſometimes a ſullenneſs or reſerve, eſpecially if they are ſtrangers. The women are, in general, ſmaller than the men; but have few peculiar graces, either in form or features, to diſtinguiſh them.

The dreſs of both ſexes is alike; and conſiſts of an oblong garment about five feet long, and four broad, made from the ſilky flax already mentioned. This ſeems to be their moſt material and complex manufacture, which is executed

by knotting; and their work is often ornamented with pieces of dog-ſkin, or chequered at the corners. They bring two corners of this garment over the ſhoulders, and faſten it on the breaſt with the other part, which covers the body; and about the belly, it is again tied with a girdle made of mat. Sometimes they cover it with large feathers of birds (which ſeem to be wrought into the piece of cloth when it is made), or with dog-ſkin; and that alone we have ſeen worn as a covering. Over this garment many of them wear mats, which reach from the ſhoulders to near the heels. But the moſt common outer-covering is a quantity of the above ſedgy plant, badly dreſſed, which they faſten on a ſtring to a conſiderable length, and, throwing it about the ſhoulders, let it fall down on all ſides, as far as the middle of the thighs. When they ſit down with this upon them, either in their boats, or upon the ſhore, it would be difficult to diſtinguiſh them from large grey ſtones, if their black heads, projecting beyond their coverings, did not engage one to a ſtricter examination. 1777. February.

By way of ornament, they fix in their heads feathers, or combs of bone, or wood, adorned with pearl ſhell, or the thin inner ſkin of ſome leaf. And in the ears, both of men and women, which are pierced, or rather ſlit, are hung ſmall pieces of jaſper, bits of cloth, or beads when they can get them. A few alſo have the *ſeptum* of the noſe bored in its lower part; but no ornament was worn there that we ſaw; though one man paſſed a twig through it, to ſhew us that it was ſometimes uſed for that purpoſe. They wear long beards, but are fond of having them ſhaved.

Some are punctured or ſtained in the face with curious ſpiral and other figures, of a black or deep blue colour;

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but it is doubtful whether this be ornamental, or intended as a mark of particular diſtinction; and the women, who are marked ſo, have the puncture only on their lips, or a ſmall ſpot on their chins. Both ſexes often beſmear their faces and heads with a red paint, which ſeems to be a martial ochre mixed with greaſe; and the women ſometimes wear necklaces of ſhark's teeth, or bunches of long beads, which ſeem to be made of the leg-bones of ſmall birds, or a particular ſhell. A few alſo have ſmall triangular aprons adorned with the feathers of parrots, or bits of pearl ſhells, furniſhed with a double or treble ſet of cords to faſten them about the waiſt. I have ſometimes ſeen caps or bonnets made of the feathers of birds, which may be reckoned as ornaments; for it is not their cuſtom to wear any covering on their heads.

They live in the ſmall coves formerly deſcribed, in companies of forty or fifty, or more; and ſometimes in ſingle families, building their huts contiguous to each other; which, in general, are miſerable lodging-places. The beſt I ever ſaw was about thirty feet long, fifteen broad, and ſix high, built exactly in the manner of one of our country barns. The inſide was both ſtrong and regularly made of ſupporters at the ſides, alternately large and ſmall, well faſtened by means of withes, and painted red and black. The ridge pole was ſtrong; and the large bull-ruſhes, which compoſed the inner part of the thatching, were laid with great exactneſs parallel to each other. At one end was a ſmall ſquare hole, which ſerved as a door to creep in at; and near it another much ſmaller, ſeemingly for letting out the ſmoke, as no other vent for it could be ſeen. This, however, ought to be conſidered as one of the beſt, and the reſidence of ſome principal perſon; for the greateſt part of

them are not half the above ſize, and ſeldom exceed four feet in height; being, beſides, indifferently built, though proof againſt wind and rain. 1777. February.

No other furniture is to be ſeen in them, than a few ſmall baſkets or bags, in which they put their fiſhing-hooks, and other trifles; and they ſit down in the middle round a ſmall fire, where they alſo probably ſleep, without any other covering than what they wear in the day, or perhaps without that; as ſuch confined places muſt be very warm, though inhabited but by a few perſons.

They live chiefly by fiſhing, making uſe either of nets of different kinds, or of wooden fiſh-hooks pointed with bone; but ſo oddly made, that a ſtranger is at a loſs to know how they can anſwer ſuch a purpoſe. It alſo appears, that they remove their habitations from one place to another when the fiſh grow ſcarce, or for ſome other reaſon; for we found houſes now built in ſeveral parts, where there had been none when we were here during our laſt voyage, and even theſe have been already deſerted.

Their boats are well built, of planks raiſed upon each other, and faſtened with ſtrong withes, which alſo bind a long narrow piece on the outſide of the ſeams to prevent their leaking. Some are fifty feet long, and ſo broad as to be able to ſail without an outrigger; but the ſmaller ſort commonly have one; and they often faſten two together by rafters, which we then call a double canoe. They carry from five to thirty men or more; and have often a large head ingeniouſly carved, and painted with a figure at the point, which ſeems intended to repreſent a man, with his features diſtorted by rage. Their paddles are about four or five feet long, narrow, and pointed; with which, when they

1777. February. they keep time, the boat is puſhed along pretty ſwiftly. Their ſail, which is ſeldom uſed, is made of a mat of a triangular ſhape, having the broadeſt part above.

The only method of dreſſing their fiſh, is by roaſting, or rather baking; for they are intirely ignorant of the art of boiling. In the ſame manner they dreſs the root, and part of the ſtalk, of the large fern-tree, in a great hole dug for that purpoſe, which ſerves as an oven. After which they ſplit it, and find, within, a fine gelatinous ſubſtance, like boiled ſago powder, but firmer. They alſo uſe another ſmaller fern root, which ſeems to be their ſubſtitute for bread, as it is dried and carried about with them, together with dried fiſh in great quantities, when they remove their families, or go far from home. This they beat with a ſtick till it becomes pretty ſoft, when they chew it ſufficiently, and ſpit out the hard fibrous part, the other having a ſweetiſh mealy taſte not at all diſagreeable.

When they dare not venture to ſea, or perhaps from choice, they ſupply the place of other fiſh with muſcles and ſea-ears; great quantities of the ſhells of which lie in heaps near their houſes. And they ſometimes, though rarely, find means to kill rails, penguins, and ſhags, which help to vary their diet. They alſo breed conſiderable numbers of the dogs, mentioned before, for food; but theſe cannot be conſidered as a principal article of diet. From whence we may conclude, that, as there is not the leaſt ſign of cultivation of land, they depend principally for their ſubſiſtence on the ſea, which, indeed, is very bountiful in its ſupply.

Their method of feeding correſponds with the naſtineſs of their perſons, which often ſmell diſagreeably from the quantity

quantity of greaſe about them, and their clothes never being waſhed. We have ſeen them eat the vermin, with which their heads are ſufficiently ſtocked. 1777. February.

They alſo uſed to devour, with the greateſt eagerneſs, large quantities of ſtinking train oil, and blubber of ſeals, which we were melting at the tent, and had kept near two months; and, on board the ſhips, they were not ſatisfied with emptying the lamps, but actually ſwallowed the cotton, and fragrant wick, with equal voracity. It is worthy of notice, that though the inhabitants of Van Diemen's land appear to have but a ſcanty ſubſiſtence, they would not even taſte our bread, though they ſaw us eat it; whereas theſe people devoured it greedily, when both mouldy and rotten. But this muſt not be imputed to any defect in their ſenſations; for I have obſerved them throw away things which we eat, with evident diſguſt, after only ſmelling to them.

They ſhew as much ingenuity, both in invention and execution, as any uncivilized nations under ſimilar circumſtances. For, without the uſe of any metal tools, they make every thing by which they procure their ſubſiſtence, clothing, and warlike weapons, with a degree of neatneſs, ſtrength, and convenience for accompliſhing their ſeveral purpoſes. Their chief mechanical tool is formed exactly after the manner of our adzes; and is made, as are alſo the chiſſel and goudge, of the green ſerpent-ſtone or jaſper, already mentioned; though ſometimes they are compoſed of a black, ſmooth, and very ſolid ſtone. But their maſter-piece ſeems to be carving, which is found upon the moſt trifling things; and, in particular, the heads of their canoes are ſometimes ornamented with it in ſuch a manner, as not only ſhews much deſign, but is alſo an example of their

1777. February. their great labour and patience in execution. Their cordage for fiſhing-lines is equal, in ſtrength and evenneſs, to that made by us; and their nets not at all inferior. But what muſt coſt them more labour than any other article, is the making the tools we have mentioned; for the ſtone is exceedingly hard, and the only method of faſhioning it, we can gueſs at, is by rubbing one ſtone upon another, which can have but a ſlow effect. Their ſubſtitute for a knife is a ſhell, a bit of flint, or jaſper. And, as an auger, to bore holes, they fix a ſhark's tooth in the end of a ſmall piece of wood. It is true, they have a ſmall ſaw made of ſome jagged fiſhes teeth, fixed on the convex edge of a piece of wood nicely carved. But this, they ſay, is only uſed to cut up the bodies of their enemies whom they kill in battle.

No people can have a quicker ſenſe of an injury done to them, and none are more ready to reſent it. But, at the ſame time, they will take an opportunity of being inſolent when they think there is no danger of puniſhment; which is ſo contrary to the ſpirit of genuine bravery, that, perhaps, their eagerneſs to reſent injuries is to be looked upon rather as an effect of a furious diſpoſition than of great courage. They alſo appear to be of a ſuſpicious or miſtruſtful temper (which, however, may rather be acquired than natural), for ſtrangers never came to our ſhips immediately, but lay in their boats at a ſmall diſtance, either to obſerve our motions, or conſult whether or no they ſhould riſk their ſafety with us. To this they join a great degree of diſhoneſty; for they ſteal every thing they can lay their hands on, if there be the leaſt hope of not being detected; and, in trading, I have little doubt but they would take advantages, if they thought it could be done with ſafety; as they not only refuſe

to

to truſt a thing in one's hand for examination, but exult if they think they have tricked you in the bargain. 1777. February.

Such conduct, however, is, in ſome meaſure, to be expected where there appears to be but little ſubordination, and conſequently few, if any, laws, to puniſh tranſgreſſions. For no man's authority ſeems to extend farther than his own family; and when, at any time, they join for mutual defence, or any other purpoſe, thoſe amongſt them who are eminent for courage or prudence, are directors. How their private quarrels are terminated is uncertain; but, in the few we ſaw, which were of little conſequence, the parties concerned were clamorous and diſorderly.

Their public contentions are frequent, or rather perpetual; for it appears, from their number of weapons, and dexterity in uſing them, that war is their principal profeſſion. Theſe weapons are ſpears, *patoos* and halberts, or ſometimes ſtones. The firſt are made of hard wood pointed, of different lengths, from five, to twenty, or even thirty feet long. The ſhort ones are uſed for throwing as darts. The *patoo* or *emeete* is of an elliptical ſhape, about eighteen inches long, with a handle made of wood, ſtone, the bone of ſome ſea animal, or green jaſper, and ſeems to be their principal dependence in battle. The halbert, or long club, is about five or ſix feet long, tapering at one end with a carved head, and at the other, broad or flat, with ſharp edges.

Before they begin the onſet, they join in a war-ſong, to which they all keep the exacteſt time, and ſoon raiſe their paſſion to a degree of frantic fury, attended with the moſt horrid diſtortion of their eyes, mouths, and tongues, to ſtrike terror into their enemies; which, to thoſe who have not been accuſtomed to ſuch a practice, makes them ap-

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pear more like demons than men, and would almoſt chill the boldeſt with fear. To this ſucceeds a circumſtance, almoſt foretold in their fierce demeanor, horrid, cruel, and diſgraceful to human nature; which is, cutting in pieces, even before being perfectly dead, the bodies of their enemies, and, after dreſſing them on a fire, devouring the fleſh, not only without reluctance, but with peculiar ſatisfaction.

One might be apt to ſuppoſe, that people, capable of ſuch exceſs of cruelty, muſt be deſtitute of every humane feeling, even amongſt their own party. And yet we find them lamenting the loſs of their friends, with a violence of expreſſion which argues the moſt tender remembrance of them. For both men and women, upon the death of thoſe connected with them, whether in battle or otherwiſe, bewail them with the moſt doleful cries; at the ſame time cutting their foreheads and cheeks, with ſhells or pieces of flint, in large gaſhes, until the blood flows plentifully and mixes with their tears. They alſo carve pieces of their green ſtone, rudely ſhaped, as human figures, which they ornament with bright eyes of pearl-ſhell, and hang them about their necks, as memorials of thoſe whom they held moſt dear; and their affections of this kind are ſo ſtrong, that they even perform the ceremony of cutting, and lamenting for joy, at the return of any of their friends, who have been abſent but for a ſhort time.

The children are initiated, at a very early age, into all the practices, good or bad, of their fathers; ſo that you find a boy or girl, nine or ten years old, able to perform all the motions, and to imitate the frightful geſtures, by which the more aged uſe to inſpire their enemies with terror, keeping

the ſtricteſt time in their ſong. They likewiſe ſing, with ſome degree of melody, the traditions of their forefathers, their actions in war, and other indifferent ſubjects; of all which they are immoderately fond, and ſpend much of their time, in theſe amuſements, and in playing on a ſort of flute. 1777. February.

Their language is far from being harſh or diſagreeable, though the pronunciation is frequently guttural; and whatever qualities are requiſite in any other language to make it muſical, certainly obtain to a conſiderable degree here, if we may judge from the melody of ſome ſorts of their ſongs. It is alſo ſufficiently comprehenſive, though, in many reſpects, deficient, if compared with our European languages, which owe their perfection to long improvement. But a ſmall ſpecimen is here ſubjoined, from which ſome judgment may be formed. I collected a great many of their words, both now and in the courſe of our former voyage; and being equally attentive, in my inquiries, about the languages of the other iſlands throughout the South Sea, I have the ampleſt proof of their wonderful agreement, or rather identity. This general obſervation has, indeed, been already made in the accounts of the former voyages *. I ſhall be enabled, however, to confirm and ſtrengthen it, by a freſh liſt of words, ſelected from a large vocabulary in my poſſeſſion; and by placing, in the oppoſite column, the correſponding words as uſed at Otaheite, the curious reader will, at one view, be furniſhed with ſufficient materials for judging by what ſubordinate changes the difference of dialect has been effected.

* See Hawkeſworth's Collection, Vol. iii. p. 474, 475. and Captain Cook's Voyage, Vol. ii. p. 364.

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English.	*New Zealand.*	*Otaheite.*
Water,	Ewy,	Evy.
A tail of a dog,	Wyeroo,	Ero.
Death, dead,	Kaoo, matte,	Matte, roa.
To fly,	Ererre,	Eraire.
A houſe,	Ewharre,	Ewharre.
To ſleep,	Moea,	Moe.
A fiſh-hook,	Makoee,	Matou.
Shut,	Opanee,	Opanee.
A bed,	Moenga,	Moera.
A butterfly,	Epaipe,	Pepe.
To chew, or *eat*,	Hekaee,	Ey.
Cold,	Makkareede,	Mareede.
To-day,	Agooanai,	Aooanai.
The hand,	Reenga,	Ereema.
Large,	Keeerahoi,	Erahoi.
Red,	Whairo,	Oora, oora.
We,	Taooa,	Taooa.
Where is it?	Kahaia,	Tehaia.
A ſtone,	Powhy,	Owhy.
A man,	Tangata,	Taata.
Black,	Purra, purra	Ere, ere.
White,	Ema,	Ooama.
To reſide, or *dwell*,	Nohoanna,	Nohonoa.
Out, not within,	Woho,	Woho.
Male kind (of any animal),	Toa,	Etoa.
Female,	Eoowha,	Eooha.
A ſhark,	Mango,	Mao.
To underſtand,	Geetaia,	Eetea.
Forgot,	Warre,	Ooaro.
Yeſterday,	Taeninnahoi,	Ninnahoi.
One,	Tahaee,	Atahay.

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Engliſh.	*New Zealand.*	*Otaheite.*
Two,	Rooa,	Erooa.
Three,	Toroo,	Toroo.
Four,	Faa,	Ahaa.
Five,	Reema,	Ereema.
Six,	Ono,	Aono.
Seven,	Heetoo,	Aheitoo.
Eight,	Waroo,	Awaroo.
Nine,	Eeva,	Aeeva.
Ten,	Angahoora,	Ahooroo.

The New Zealanders to theſe numerals prefix *Ma*; as,

Eleven,	Matahee.
Twelve, &c. &c.	Marooa, *&c. &c.*
Twenty,	Mangahoora.

A

VOYAGE

TO THE

PACIFIC OCEAN.

BOOK II.

From leaving New Zealand, to our Arrival at Otaheite, or the Society Iſlands.

CHAP. I.

Proſecution of the Voyage.—Behaviour of the Two New Zealanders on board.—Unfavourable Winds.—An Iſland called Mangeea diſcovered.—The Coaſt of it examined.—Tranſactions with the Natives.—An Account of their Perſons, Dreſs, and Canoe.—Deſcription of the Iſland.—A Specimen of the Language.—Diſpoſition of the Inhabitants.

ON the 25th, at ten o'clock in the morning, a light breeze ſpringing up at North Weſt by Weſt, we weighed, ſtood out of the Sound, and made ſail through the ſtrait, with the Diſcovery in company. We had hardly got the length of Cape Tierawhitte, when the wind took us aback at South Eaſt. It continued in this quarter till

1777. February. Tueſday 25.

two

1777. February. Wedneſ. 26. Thurſday 27. two o'clock the next morning, when we had a few hours calm. After which we had a breeze at North; but here it fixed not long, before it veered to the Eaſt, and after that to the South. At length, on the 27th, at eight o'clock in the morning, we took our departure from Cape Palliſer, which, at this time, bore Weſt, ſeven or eight leagues diſtant. We had a fine gale, and I ſteered Eaſt by North.

We had no ſooner loſt ſight of the land than our two New Zealand adventurers, the ſea ſickneſs they now experienced giving a turn to their reflections, repented heartily of the ſtep they had taken. All the ſoothing encouragement we could think of, availed but little. They wept, both in public and in private; and made their lamentations in a kind of ſong, which, as far as we could comprehend the meaning of the words, was expreſſive of their praiſes of their country and people, from which they were to be ſeparated for ever. Thus they continued for many days, till their ſea ſickneſs wore off, and the tumult of their minds began to ſubſide. Then theſe fits of lamentation became leſs and leſs frequent, and at length entirely ceaſed. Their native country and their friends were, by degrees, forgot, and they appeared to be as firmly attached to us, as if they had been born amongſt us.

The wind had not remained many hours at South, before it veered to South Eaſt and Eaſt; and, with this, we ſtood to the North, till the 28th at noon. Being then in the latitude of 41° 17′, and in the longitude of 177° 17′ Eaſt, we tacked and ſtood to the South Eaſt, with a gentle breeze at Eaſt North Eaſt. It afterward freſhened, and came about to North Eaſt; in which quarter it continued two days, and ſometimes blew a freſh gale with ſqualls, accompanied with ſhowers of rain.

Friday 28.

On the 2d of March at noon, being in the latitude of 42° 35′ 30″, longitude 180° 8′ East, the wind ſhifted to North Weſt; afterward to South Weſt; and between this point and North it continued to blow, ſometimes a ſtrong gale with hard ſqualls, and at other times very moderate. With this wind we ſteered North East by East and East, under all the ſail we could carry, till the 11th at noon, at which time we were in the latitude of 39° 29′, longitude 196° 4′ East. 1777. March. Sunday 2. Tueſday 11.

The wind now veered to North East and South East, and I ſtood to the North, and to the North East, as the wind would admit, till one o'clock in the morning on the 16th, when having a more favourable gale from the North, I tacked and ſtood to the East; the latitude being 33° 40′, and the longitude 198° 50′ East. We had light airs and calms by turns, till noon the next day, when the wind began to freſhen at East South East, and I again ſtood to the North East. But as the wind often veered to East and East North East, we frequently made no better than a northerly courſe; nay ſometimes to the Weſtward of North. But the hopes of the wind coming more Southerly, or of meeting with it from the Weſtward, a little without the Tropic, as I had experienced in my former viſits to this ocean, encouraged me to continue this courſe. Indeed it was neceſſary that I ſhould run all riſks, as my proceeding to the North this year, in proſecution of the principal object of the voyage, depended entirely on my making a quick paſſage to Otaheite, or the Society Iſlands. Sunday 16. Monday 17.

The wind continued invariably fixed at East South East, or ſeldom ſhifting above two points on either ſide. It alſo blew very faint, ſo that it was the 27th before we croſſed the Tropic, and then we were only in the longitude of 201° 23′ East, which was nine degrees to the Weſtward of Thurſday 27.

1777. March. our intended port. In all this run we ſaw nothing, except now and then a Tropic bird, that could induce us to think we had ſailed near any land. In the latitude of 34° 20′, longitude 199°, we paſſed the trunk of a large tree, which was covered with barnacles; a ſign that it had been long at ſea.

Saturday 29. On the 29th, at ten in the morning, as we were ſtanding to the North Eaſt, the Diſcovery made the ſignal of ſeeing land. We ſaw it from the maſt-head almoſt the ſame moment, bearing North Eaſt by Eaſt by compaſs. We ſoon diſcovered it to be an iſland of no great extent, and ſtood for it till ſunſet, when it bore North North Eaſt, diſtant about two or three leagues.

Sunday 30. The night was ſpent in ſtanding off and on, and at day-break the next morning, I bore up for the lee or Weſt ſide of the iſland, as neither anchorage nor landing appeared to be practicable on the South ſide, on account of a great ſurf *, which broke every where with violence againſt the ſhore, or againſt the reef that ſurrounded it.

We preſently found that the iſland was inhabited, and ſaw ſeveral people, on a point of the land we had paſſed, wading to the reef, where, as they found the ſhip leaving them quickly, they remained. But others, who ſoon appeared in different parts, followed her courſe; and ſometimes ſeveral of them collected into ſmall bodies, who made a ſhouting noiſe all together, nearly after the manner of the inhabitants of New Zealand.

Between ſeven and eight o'clock, we were at the Weſt North Weſt part of the iſland, and, being near the ſhore, we

* A very ingenious and ſatisfactory account of the cauſe of the ſurf, is to be met with in Marſden's Hiſtory of Sumatra, p. 29. 32.

could

could perceive with our glaſſes, that ſeveral of the natives, who appeared upon a ſandy beach, were all armed with long ſpears and clubs, which they brandiſhed in the air with ſigns of threatening, or, as ſome on board interpreted their attitudes, with invitations to land. Moſt of them appeared naked, except having a ſort of girdle, which, being brought up between the thighs, covered that part of the body. But ſome of them had pieces of cloth of different colours, white, ſtriped, or chequered, which they wore as a garment, thrown about their ſhoulders. And almoſt all of them had a white wrapper about their heads, not much unlike a turban; or, in ſome inſtances, like a high conical cap. We could alſo perceive that they were of a tawny colour, and in general of a middling ſtature, but robuſt, and inclining to corpulence. 1777. March.

At this time, a ſmall canoe was launched in a great hurry from the further end of the beach, and a man getting into it, put off, as with a view to reach the ſhip. On perceiving this, I brought to, that we might receive the viſit; but the man's reſolution failing, he ſoon returned toward the beach, where, after ſome time, another man joined him in the canoe; and then they both paddled toward us. They ſtopt ſhort, however, as if afraid to approach, until Omai, who addreſſed them in the Otaheite language, in ſome meaſure quieted their apprehenſions. They then came near enough to take ſome beads and nails, which were tied to a piece of wood, and thrown into the canoe. They ſeemed afraid to touch theſe things, and put the piece of wood aſide without untying them. This, however, might ariſe from ſuperſtition; for Omai told us, that when they ſaw us offering them preſents, they aſked ſomething for their *Eatooa*, or god. He alſo, perhaps improperly,

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perly, put the queſtion to them, Whether they ever eat human fleſh? which they anſwered in the negative, with a mixture of indignation and abhorrence. One of them, whoſe name was Mouroa, being aſked how he came by a ſcar on his forehead, told us that it was the conſequence of a wound he had got in fighting with the people of an iſland, which lies to the North Eaſtward, who ſometimes came to invade them. They afterward took hold of a rope. Still, however, they would not venture on board; but told Omai, who underſtood them pretty well, that their countrymen on ſhore had given them this caution, at the ſame time directing them to inquire, from whence our ſhip came, and to learn the name of the Captain. On our part, we inquired the name of the iſland, which they called *Mangya* or *Mangeea*; and ſometimes added to it *Nooe*, *nai*, *naiwa*. The name of their Chief, they ſaid, was Orooaeeka.

Mouroa was luſty and well made, but not very tall. His features were agreeable, and his diſpoſition ſeemingly no leſs ſo; for he made ſeveral droll geſticulations, which indicated both good-nature and a ſhare of humour. He alſo made others which ſeemed of a ſerious kind, and repeated ſome words with a devout air, before he ventured to lay hold of the rope at the ſhip's ſtern; which was probably to recommend himſelf to the protection of ſome Divinity. His colour was nearly of the ſame caſt with that common to the moſt ſouthern Europeans. The other man was not ſo handſome. Both of them had ſtrong, ſtraight hair, of a jet colour, tied together on the crown of the head with a bit of cloth. They wore ſuch girdles as we had perceived about thoſe on ſhore, and we found they were a ſubſtance made from the *Morus papyrifera*, in the ſame manner as at the other iſlands of this ocean. It was glazed

glazed like the ſort uſed by the natives of the Friendly Iſlands; but the cloth on their heads was white, like that which is found at Otaheite. They had on, a kind of ſandals, made of a graſſy ſubſtance interwoven, which we alſo obſerved were worn by thoſe who ſtood upon the beach; and, as we ſuppoſed, intended to defend their feet againſt the rough coral rock. Their beards were long; and the inſide of their arms, from the ſhoulder to the elbow, and ſome other parts, were punctured or *tatooed*, after the manner of the inhabitants of almoſt all the other iſlands in the South Sea. The lobe of their ears was pierced, or rather ſlit, and to ſuch a length, that one of them ſtuck there a knife and ſome beads, which he had received from us; and the ſame perſon had two poliſhed pearl-ſhells, and a bunch of human hair, looſely twiſted, hanging about his neck, which was the only ornament we obſerved. The canoe they came in (which was the only one we ſaw), was not above ten feet long, and very narrow; but both ſtrong and neatly made. The forepart had a flat board faſtened over it, and projecting out, to prevent the ſea getting in on plunging, like the ſmall *Evaas* at Otaheite; but it had an upright ſtern, about five feet high, like ſome in New Zealand; and the upper end of this ſtern-poſt was forked. The lower part of the canoe was of white wood; but the upper was black, and their paddles, made of wood of the ſame colour, not above three feet long, broad at one end, and blunted. They paddled either end of the canoe forward indifferently; and only turned about their faces to paddle the contrary way. 1777. March.

We now ſtood off and on; and as ſoon as the ſhips were in a proper ſtation, about ten o'clock I ordered two boats, one of them from the Diſcovery, to ſound the coaſt, and to endeavour

1777. March. endeavour to find a landing-place. With this view, I went in one of them myſelf, taking with me ſuch articles to give the natives, as I thought might ſerve to gain their good-will. I had no ſooner put off from the ſhip, than the canoe, with the two men, which had left us not long before, paddled towards my boat; and, having come alongſide, Mouroa ſtept into her, without being aſked, and without a moment's heſitation.

Omai, who was with me, was ordered to inquire of him, where we could land; and he directed us to two different places. But I ſaw, with regret, that the attempt could not be made at either place, unleſs at the riſk of having our boats filled with water, or even ſtaved to pieces. Nor were we more fortunate in our ſearch for anchorage; for we could find no bottom, till within a cable's length of the breakers. There we met with from forty to twenty fathoms depth, over ſharp coral rocks; ſo that anchoring would have been attended with much more danger than landing.

While we were thus employed in reconnoitring the ſhore, great numbers of the natives thronged down upon the reef, all armed as above mentioned. Mouroa, who was now in my boat, probably thinking that this warlike appearance hindered us from landing, ordered them to retire back. As many of them complied, I judged he muſt be a perſon of ſome conſequence among them. Indeed, if we underſtood him right, he was the king's brother. So great was the curioſity of ſeveral of them, that they took to the water, and, ſwimming off to the boats, came on board them without reſerve. Nay, we found it difficult to keep them out; and ſtill more difficult to prevent their carrying off every thing they could lay their hands upon.

upon. At length, when they perceived that we were returning to the ſhips, they all left us, except our original viſiter Mourooa. He, though not without evident ſigns of fear, kept his place in my boat, and accompanied me on board the ſhip. 1777. March.

The cattle and other new objects, that preſented themſelves to him there, did not ſtrike him with ſo much ſurpriſe as one might have expected. Perhaps his mind was too much taken up about his own ſafety, to allow him to attend to other things. It is certain, that he ſeemed very uneaſy; and the ſhip, on our getting on board, happening to be ſtanding off ſhore, this circumſtance made him the more ſo. I could get but little new information from him; and therefore, after he had made a ſhort ſtay, I ordered a boat to carry him in toward the land. As ſoon as he got out of the cabin, he happened to ſtumble over one of the goats. His curioſity now overcoming his fear, he ſtopped, looked at it, and aſked Omai, what bird this was? and not receiving an immediate anſwer from him, he repeated the queſtion to ſome of the people upon deck. The boat having conveyed him pretty near to the ſurf, he leaped into the ſea, and ſwam aſhore. He had no ſooner landed, than the multitude of his countrymen gathered round him, as if with an eager curioſity to learn from him what he had ſeen; and in this ſituation they remained, when we loſt ſight of them. As ſoon as the boat returned, we hoiſted her in, and made ſail from the land to the Northward.

Thus were we obliged to leave, unviſited, this fine iſland, which ſeemed capable of ſupplying all our wants. It lies in the latitude of 21° 57′ South; and in the longitude of 201° 53′ Eaſt. Such parts of the coaſt, as fell under our

1777. March. obſervation, are guarded by a reef of coral rock, on the outſide of which the ſea is of an unfathomable depth. It is full five leagues in circuit, and of a moderate and pretty equal height; though, in clear weather, it may be certainly ſeen at the diſtance of ten leagues; for we had not loſt ſight of it at night, when we had run above ſeven leagues, and the weather was cloudy. In the middle, it riſes into little hills, from whence there is a gentle deſcent to the ſhore, which, at the South Weſt part, is ſteep, though not above ten or twelve feet high; and has ſeveral excavations made by the beating of the waves againſt a browniſh ſand-ſtone of which it is compoſed. The deſcent here is covered with trees of a deep green colour, very thick, but not high, which ſeem all of one ſort, unleſs neareſt the ſhore, where there are great numbers of that ſpecies of *dracæna* found in the woods of New Zealand, which are alſo ſcattered in ſome other places. On the North Weſt part, the ſhore, as we mentioned above, ends in a ſandy beech; beyond which the land is broken down into ſmall chaſms or gullies, and has a broad border of trees reſembling tall willows; which, from its regularity, might be ſuppoſed a work of art, did not its extent forbid us to think ſo. Farther up on the aſcent, the trees were of the deep green mentioned before. Some of us ſuppoſed theſe to be the *rima*, intermixed with low cocoa palms; and a few of ſome other ſorts. They ſeemed not ſo thick as on the South Weſt part, and higher; which appearance might be owing to our nearer approach to the ſhore. On the little hills, were ſome trees of a taller ſort, thinly ſcattered; but the other parts of them were either bare, and of a reddiſh colour, or covered with ſomething like fern. Upon the whole, the iſland has a pretty aſpect, and might be made a beautiful ſpot by cultivation.

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As the inhabitants ſeemed to be both numerous and well fed, ſuch articles of proviſion as the iſland produces muſt be in great plenty. It might, however, be a matter of curioſity to know, particularly, their method of ſubſiſtence; for our friend Mourooa told us, that they had no animals, as hogs and dogs, both which, however, they had heard of; but acknowledged they had plantains, bread-fruit, and taro. The only birds we ſaw, were ſome white egg-birds, terns, and noddies; and one white heron, on the ſhore.

The language of the inhabitants of Mangeea is a dialect of that ſpoken at Otaheite; though their pronunciation, as that of the New Zealanders, be more guttural. Some of their words, of which two or three are perhaps peculiar to this iſland, are here ſubjoined, as taken, by Mr. Anderſon, from Omai, who had learnt them in his converſations with Mourooa. The Otaheite words, where there is any reſemblance, are placed oppoſite.

Engliſh.	*Mangeea.*	*Otaheite.*
A cocoa nut,	Eakkaree,	Aree.
Bread-fruit,	Kooroo,	Ooroo.
A canoe,	Ewakka,	Evaa.
Friend,	Naoo, mou.	
A man,	Taata, *or* Tangata,	Taata.
Cloth, or *cloth plant,*	Taia, taia aoutee,	Eoute.
Good,	Mata,	Myty.
A club,	Pooroohee.	
Yes,	Aee,	Ai.
No,	Aoure,	Aoure.
A ſpear,	Heyhey.	
A fight, or *battle,*	Etamagee,	Tamaee.
A woman,	Waheine,	Waheine.

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Engliſh.	*Mangeea.*	*Otaheite.*
A daughter,	Maheine,	Maheine.
The ſun,	Heetaia matooa.	
I,	Ou,	Wou.
The ſhore,	Euta,	Euta.
What is that?	Ehataieee?	Owytaieeoa?
There,	Oo.	
A chief,	Ereekee,	Eree.
Great, or *powerful,*	Manna *(an adjunct to the laſt).*	
To kiſs,	Ooma.	

The natives of Mangeea ſeem to reſemble thoſe of Otaheite and the Marqueſas in the beauty of their perſons, more than any other nation I have ſeen in theſe ſeas; having a ſmooth ſkin, and not being muſcular. Their general diſpoſition alſo correſponds, as far as we had opportunities of judging, with that which diſtinguiſhes the firſt mentioned people. For they are not only cheerful, but, as Mourooa ſhewed us, are acquainted with all the laſcivious geſticulations which the Otaheiteans practiſe in their dances. It may alſo be ſuppoſed, that their method of living is ſimilar. For, though the nature of the country prevented our ſeeing many of their habitations, we obſerved one houſe near the beach, which much reſembled, in its mode of conſtruction, thoſe of Otaheite. It was pleaſantly ſituated in a grove of trees, and appeared to be about thirty feet long, and ſeven or eight high, with an open end, which repreſented an ellipſe divided tranſverſely. Before it, was ſpread ſomething white on a few buſhes; which we conjectured to be a fiſhing net, and, to appearance, of a very delicate texture.

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They ſalute ſtrangers much after the manner of the New Zealanders, by joining noſes; adding, however, the additional ceremony of taking the hand of the perſon to whom they are paying civilities, and rubbing it with a degree of force upon their noſe and mouth *.

* The inhabitants of the Palaos, New Philippine, or rather Caroline Iſlands, at the diſtance of almoſt fifteen hundred leagues from Mangeea, have the ſame mode of ſalutation. " Leur civilité, & la marque de leur reſpect, conſiſte à prendre la main " ou le pied de celui à qui ils veulent faire honneur, & s'en frotter doucement tout " le viſage." *Lettres Edifiantes & Curieuſes*, Tom. xv. p. 208. Edit. 1781.

CHAP. II.

The Diſcovery of an Iſland called Wateeoo.—Its Coaſts examined.—Viſits from the Natives on board the Ships.—Meſſ. Gore, Burney, and Anderſon, with Omai, ſent on Shore.—Mr. Anderſon's Narrative of their Reception.—Omai's Expedient to prevent their being detained.—His meeting with ſome of his Countrymen, and their diſtreſsful Voyage.—Farther Account of Wateeoo, and of its Inhabitants.

1777. March. Sunday 30. Monday 31. AFTER leaving Mangeea, on the afternoon of the 30th, we continued our courſe Northward all that night, and till noon on the 31ſt; when we again ſaw land, in the direction of North Eaſt by North, diſtant eight or ten leagues.

April. Tueſday 1. Next morning, at eight o'clock, we had got abreaſt of its North end, within four leagues of it, but to leeward; and could now pronounce it to be an iſland, nearly of the ſame appearance and extent with that we had ſo lately left. At the ſame time, another iſland, but much ſmaller, was ſeen right ahead. We could have ſoon reached this; but the largeſt one had the preference, as moſt likely to furniſh a ſupply of food for the cattle, of which we began to be in great want.

With this view I determined to work up to it; but as there was but little wind, and that little was unfavourable, we

we were ſtill two leagues to leeward at eight o'clock the following morning. Soon after, I ſent two armed boats from the Reſolution, and one from the Diſcovery, under the command of Lieutenant Gore, to look for anchoring-ground, and a landing-place. In the mean time, we plyed up under the iſland with the ſhips. 1777. April. Wedneſ. 2.

Juſt as the boats were putting off, we obſerved ſeveral ſingle canoes coming from the ſhore. They went firſt to the Diſcovery, ſhe being the neareſt ſhip. It was not long after, when three of theſe canoes came along-ſide of the Reſolution, each conducted by one man. They are long and narrow, and ſupported by outriggers. The ſtern is elevated about three or four feet, ſomething like a ſhip's ſtern-poſt. The head is flat above, but prow-like below, and turns down at the extremity, like the end of a violin. Some knives, beads, and other trifles were conveyed to our viſiters; and they gave us a few cocoa-nuts, upon our aſking for them. But they did not part with them by way of exchange for what they had received from us. For they ſeemed to have no idea of bartering; nor did they appear to eſtimate any of our preſents at a high rate.

With a little perſuaſion, one of them made his canoe faſt to the ſhip, and came on board; and the other two, encouraged by his example, ſoon followed him. Their whole behaviour marked that they were quite at their eaſe, and felt no ſort of apprehenſion of our detaining, or uſing them ill.

After their departure, another canoe arrived, conducted by a man who brought a bunch of plantains as a preſent to me; aſking for me by name, having learnt it from Omai, who was ſent before us in the boat with Mr.

1777. April. Gore. In return for this civility, I gave him an axe, and a piece of red cloth; and he paddled back to the ſhore well ſatisfied. I afterward underſtood from Omai, that this preſent had been ſent from the king, or principal Chief of the iſland.

Not long after, a double canoe, in which were twelve men, came toward us. As they drew near the ſhip, they recited ſome words in concert, by way of chorus *, one of their number firſt ſtanding up, and giving the word before each repetition. When they had finiſhed their ſolemn chant, they came along-ſide, and aſked for the Chief. As ſoon as I ſhewed myſelf, a pig and a few cocoa-nuts were conveyed up into the ſhip; and the principal perſon in the canoe made me an additional preſent of a piece of matting, as ſoon as he and his companions got on board.

Our viſiters were conducted into the cabin, and to other parts of the ſhip. Some objects ſeemed to ſtrike them with a degree of ſurprize; but nothing fixed their attention for a moment. They were afraid to come near the cows and horſes; nor did they form the leaſt conception of their nature. But the ſheep and goats did not ſurpaſs the limits of their ideas; for they gave us to underſtand, that they knew them to be birds. It will appear rather incredible, that human ignorance could ever make ſo

* Something like this ceremony was performed by the inhabitants of the Marqueſas, when Captain Cook viſited them in 1774. *See his Voyage*, Vol. i. p. 301. It is curious to obſerve, at what immenſe diſtances this mode of receiving ſtrangers prevails. Padillo, who ſailed from Manilla in 1710, on a voyage to diſcover the Palaos Iſlands, was thus received there. The writer of the relation of his voyage ſays, "Auſſitot qu'ils approcherent de notre bord, ils ſe mirent à chanter. Ils "regloient la cadence, en frappant des mains ſur leurs cuiſſes."

Lettres Edifiantes & Curieuſes, Tom. xv. p. 323.

ſtrange

ſtrange a miſtake; there not being the moſt diſtant ſimili- 1777. April.
tude between a ſheep or goat, and any winged animal. But theſe people ſeemed to know nothing of the exiſtence of any other land-animals, beſides hogs, dogs, and birds. Our ſheep and goats, they could ſee, were very different creatures from the two firſt, and therefore they inferred, that they muſt belong to the latter claſs, in which they knew there is a conſiderable variety of ſpecies. I made a preſent to my new friend of what I thought might be moſt acceptable to him; but, on his going away, he ſeemed rather diſappointed than pleaſed. I afterward underſtood that he was very deſirous of obtaining a dog, of which animal this iſland could not boaſt, though its inhabitants knew that the race exiſted in other iſlands of their ocean. Captain Clerke had received the like preſent, with the ſame view, from another man, who met with from him the like diſappointment.

The people in theſe canoes were in general of a middling ſize, and not unlike thoſe of Mangeea; though ſeveral were of a blacker caſt than any we ſaw there. Their hair was tied on the crown of the head, or flowing looſe about the ſhoulders; and though in ſome it was of a frizzling diſpoſition, yet, for the moſt part, that, as well as the ſtraight ſort, was long. Their features were various, and ſome of the young men rather handſome. Like thoſe of Mangeea, they had girdles of glazed cloth, or fine matting, the ends of which, being brought betwixt their thighs, covered the adjoining parts. Ornaments, compoſed of a ſort of broad graſs, ſtained with red, and ſtrung with berries of the night-ſhade, were worn about their necks. Their ears were bored, but not ſlit; and they were punctured upon the legs, from the knee to the heel, which made them appear

1777. April. pear as if they wore a kind of boots. They alſo reſembled the inhabitants of Mangeea in the length of their beards, and, like them, wore a ſort of ſandals upon their feet. Their behaviour was frank and cheerful, with a great deal of good-nature.

At three o'clock in the afternoon, Mr. Gore returned with the boat, and informed me, that he had examined all the Weſt ſide of the iſland, without finding a place where a boat could land, or the ſhips could anchor, the ſhore being every where bounded by a ſteep coral rock, againſt which the ſea broke in a dreadful ſurf. But as the natives ſeemed very friendly, and to expreſs a degree of diſappointment when they ſaw that our people failed in their attempts to land, Mr. Gore was of opinion, that by means of Omai, who could beſt explain our requeſt, they might be prevailed upon to bring off to the boats, beyond the ſurf, ſuch articles as we moſt wanted; in particular, the ſtems of plantain trees, which make good food for the cattle. Having little or no wind, the delay of a day or two was not of any moment; and therefore I determined to try the experiment, and got every thing ready againſt the next morning.

Thurſday 3. Soon after day-break, we obſerved ſome canoes coming off to the ſhips, and one of them directed its courſe to the Reſolution. In it was a hog, with ſome plantains and cocoa nuts, for which the people, who brought them, demanded a dog from us, and refuſed every other thing that we offered in exchange. One of our gentlemen on board, happened to have a dog and a bitch, which were great nuiſances in the ſhip, and might have been diſpoſed of on this occaſion for a purpoſe of real utility, by propagating a race of ſo uſeful an animal in this iſland. But their owner had no ſuch views, in making them the companions of his voyage.

voyage. However, to gratify theſe people, Omai parted with a favourite dog he had brought from England; and with this acquiſition they departed highly ſatisfied. 1777. April.

About ten o'clock, I diſpatched Mr. Gore with three boats, two from the Reſolution, and one from the Diſcovery, to try the experiment he had propoſed. And, as I could confide in his diligence and ability, I left it entirely to himſelf, to act as, from circumſtances, he ſhould judge to be moſt proper. Two of the natives, who had been on board, accompanied him, and Omai went with him in his boat as an interpreter. The ſhips being a full league from the iſland when the boats put off, and having but little wind, it was noon before we could work up to it. We then ſaw our three boats riding at their grapplings, juſt without the ſurf, and a prodigious number of the natives on the ſhore, abreaſt of them. By this we concluded, that Mr. Gore, and others of our people, had landed, and our impatience to know the event may be eaſily conceived. In order to obſerve their motions, and to be ready to give them ſuch aſſiſtance as they might want, and our reſpective ſituations would admit of, I kept as near the ſhore as was prudent. I was ſenſible, however, that the reef was as effectual a barrier between us and our friends who had landed, and put them as much beyond the reach of our protection, as if half the circumference of the globe had intervened. But the iſlanders, it was probable, did not know this ſo well as we did. Some of them, now and then, came off to the ſhips in their canoes, with a few cocoa nuts; which they exchanged for whatever was offered to them, without ſeeming to give the preference to any particular article.

Theſe occaſional viſits ſerved to leſſen my ſolicitude about our people who had landed. Though we could get no in-

 formation

1777. March. formation from our viſiters; yet their venturing on board ſeemed to imply, at leaſt, that their countrymen on ſhore had not made an improper uſe of the confidence put in them. At length, a little before ſun-ſet, we had the ſatisfaction of ſeeing the boats put off. When they got on board, I found that Mr. Gore himſelf, Omai, Mr. Anderſon, and Mr. Burney, were the only perſons who had landed. The tranſactions of the day were now fully reported to me by Mr. Gore; but Mr. Anderſon's account of them being very particular, and including ſome remarks on the iſland and its inhabitants, I ſhall give it a place here, nearly in his own words.

" We rowed toward a ſmall ſandy beach, upon which, and upon the adjacent rocks, a great number of the natives had aſſembled; and came to an anchor within a hundred yards of the reef, which extends about as far, or a little farther, from the ſhore. Several of the natives ſwam off, bringing cocoa nuts; and Omai, with their countrymen, whom we had with us in the boats, made them ſenſible of our wiſh to land. But their attention was taken up, for a little time, by the dog, which had been carried from the ſhip, and was juſt brought on ſhore, round whom they flocked with great eagerneſs. Soon after, two canoes came off; and, to create a greater confidence in the iſlanders, we determined to go unarmed, and run the hazard of being treated well or ill.

Mr. Burney, the firſt Lieutenant of the Diſcovery, and I, went in one canoe, a little time before the other; and our conductors, watching attentively the motions of the ſurf, landed us ſafely upon the reef. An iſlander took hold of each of us, obviouſly with an intention to ſupport us in walking,

over the rugged rocks, to the beach, where ſeveral of the others met us, holding the green boughs, of a ſpecies of *Mimoſa*, in their hands, and ſaluted us by applying their noſes to ours. 1777. April.

We were conducted from the beach by our guides, amidſt a great crowd of people, who flocked with very eager curioſity to look at us; and would have prevented our proceeding, had not ſome men, who ſeemed to have authority, dealt blows, with little diſtinction, amongſt them, to keep them off. We were then led up an avenue of cocoa-palms; and ſoon came to a number of men, arranged in two rows, armed with clubs, which they held on their ſhoulders, much in the manner we reſt a muſquet. After walking a little way amongſt theſe, we found a perſon who ſeemed a Chief, ſitting on the ground croſs-legged, cooling himſelf with a ſort of triangular fan, made from a leaf of the cocoa-palm, with a poliſhed handle, of black wood, fixed to one corner. In his ears were large bunches of beautiful red feathers, which pointed forward. But he had no other mark, or ornament, to diſtinguiſh him from the reſt of the people; though they all obeyed him with the greateſt alacrity. He either naturally had, or at this time put on, a ſerious, but not ſevere countenance; and we were deſired to ſalute him as he ſat, by ſome people who ſeemed of conſequence.

We proceeded ſtill amongſt the men armed with clubs, and came to a ſecond Chief, who ſat fanning himſelf, and ornamented as the firſt. He was remarkable for his ſize, and uncommon corpulence, though, to appearance, not above thirty years of age. In the ſame manner, we were conducted to a third Chief, who ſeemed older than the two

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former, and, though not ſo fat as the ſecond, was of a large ſize. He alſo was ſitting, and adorned with red feathers; and after ſaluting him as we had done the others, he deſired us both to ſit down. Which we were very willing to do, being pretty well fatigued with walking up, and with the exceſſive heat we felt amongſt the vaſt crowd that ſurrounded us.

In a few minutes, the people were ordered to ſeparate; and we ſaw, at the diſtance of thirty yards, about twenty young women, ornamented as the Chiefs, with red feathers, engaged in a dance, which they performed to a ſlow and ſerious air, ſung by them all. We got up, and went forward to ſee them; and though we muſt have been ſtrange objects to them, they continued their dance, without paying the leaſt attention to us. They ſeemed to be directed by a man who ſerved as a prompter, and mentioned each motion they were to make. But they never changed the ſpot, as we do in dancing, and though their feet were not at reſt, this exerciſe conſiſted more in moving the fingers very nimbly, at the ſame time holding the hands in a prone poſition near the face, and now and then alſo clapping them together*. Their motions and ſong were performed in ſuch exact concert, that it ſhould ſeem they had been taught with great care; and probably they were ſelected for this ceremony, as few of thoſe whom we ſaw in the crowd equalled them in beauty. In general, they were rather ſtout than ſlender, with black hair flowing in ringlets down the neck, and of an olive complexion. Their features were,

* The dances of the inhabitants of the Caroline Iſlands, have a great reſemblance to thoſe here deſcribed. See *Lettres Edif. et Curieuſes*, Tom. xv. p. 315. See alſo, in the ſame volume, p. 207. what is ſaid of the ſinging and dancing of the inhabitants of the Palaos Iſlands, which belong to the ſame group.

rather,

rather, fuller than what we allow to perfect beauties, and much alike; but their eyes were of a deep black, and each countenance expreſſed a degree of complacency and modeſty, peculiar to the ſex in every part of the world; but perhaps more conſpicuous here, where Nature preſented us with her productions in the fulleſt perfection, unbiaſſed in ſentiment by cuſtom, or unreſtrained in manner by art. Their ſhape and limbs were elegantly formed. For, as their dreſs conſiſted only of a piece of glazed cloth faſtened about the waiſt, and ſcarcely reaching ſo low as the knees, in many we had an opportunity of obſerving every part. This dance was not finiſhed, when we heard a noiſe, as if ſome horſes had been galloping toward us; and, on looking aſide, we ſaw the people armed with clubs, who had been deſired, as we ſuppoſed, to entertain us with the ſight of their manner of fighting. This they now did, one party purſuing another who fled. 1777. April.

As we ſuppoſed the ceremony of being introduced to the Chiefs was at an end, we began to look about for Mr. Gore and Omai; and, though the crowd would hardly ſuffer us to move, we at length found them coming up, as much incommoded by the number of people as we had been, and introduced in the ſame manner to the three Chiefs, whoſe names were Otteroo, Taroa, and Fatouweera. Each of theſe expected a preſent; and Mr. Gore gave them ſuch things as he had brought with him from the ſhip, for that purpoſe. After this, making uſe of Omai as his interpreter, he informed the Chiefs with what intention we had come on ſhore; but was given to underſtand, that he muſt wait till the next day, and then he ſhould have what was wanted.

They

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They now ſeemed to take ſome pains to ſeparate us from each other; and every one of us had his circle, to ſurround and gaze at him. For my own part, I was, at one time, above an hour apart from my friends; and when I told the Chief, with whom I ſat, that I wanted to ſpeak to Omai, he peremptorily refuſed my requeſt. At the ſame time, I found the people began to ſteal ſeveral trifling things which I had in my pocket; and when I took the liberty of complaining to the Chief of this treatment, he juſtified it. From theſe circumſtances, I now entertained apprehenſions, that they might have formed the deſign of detaining us amongſt them. They did not, indeed, ſeem to be of a diſpoſition ſo ſavage, as to make us anxious for the ſafety of our perſons; but it was, nevertheleſs, vexing to think, we had hazarded being detained by their curioſity. In this ſituation, I aſked for ſomething to eat; and they readily brought to me ſome cocoa-nuts, bread-fruit, and a ſort of ſour pudding, which was preſented by a woman. And on my complaining much of the heat, occaſioned by the crowd, the Chief himſelf condeſcended to fan me, and gave me a ſmall piece of cloth, which he had round his waiſt.

Mr. Burney happening to come to the place where I was, I mentioned my ſuſpicions to him; and, to put it to the teſt, whether they were well-founded, we attempted to get to the beach. But we were ſtopped, when about half-way, by ſome men, who told us, that we muſt go back to the place which we had left. On coming up, we found Omai entertaining the ſame apprehenſions. But he had, as he fancied, an additional reaſon for being afraid; for he had obſerved, that they had dug a hole in the ground for an oven, which they were now heating; and he could aſſign no other reaſon for this, than that they meant to roaſt, and eat

us,

us, as is practiſed by the inhabitants of New Zealand. Nay, he went ſo far as to aſk them the queſtion; at which they were greatly ſurpriſed, aſking, in return, whether that was a cuſtom with us? Mr. Burney and I were rather angry that they ſhould be thus ſuſpected by him; there having, as yet, been no appearances, in their conduct toward us, of their being capable of ſuch brutality. 1777. April.

In this manner we were detained the greateſt part of the day, being ſometimes together, and ſometimes ſeparated; but always in a crowd; who, not ſatisfied with gazing at us, frequently deſired us to uncover parts of our ſkin; the ſight of which commonly produced a general murmur of admiration. At the ſame time, they did not omit theſe opportunities of rifling our pockets; and, at laſt, one of them ſnatched a ſmall bayonet from Mr. Gore, which hung in its ſheath by his ſide. This was repreſented to the Chief, who pretended to ſend ſome perſon in ſearch of it. But, in all probability, he countenanced the theft; for, ſoon after, Omai had a dagger ſtolen from his ſide, in the ſame manner; though he did not miſs it immediately.

Whether they obſerved any ſigns of uneaſineſs in us, or that they voluntarily repeated their emblems of friendſhip when we expreſſed a deſire to go, I cannot tell; but, at this time, they brought ſome green boughs, and, ſticking their ends in the ground, deſired we might hold them as we ſat. Upon our urging again the buſineſs we came upon, they gave us to underſtand, that we muſt ſtay and eat with them; and a pig which we ſaw, ſoon after, lying near the oven, which they had prepared and heated, removed Omai's apprehenſion of being put into it himſelf; and made us think it might be intended for our repaſt. The Chief alſo promiſed

1777. April. promiſed to ſend ſome people to procure food for the cattle; but it was not till pretty late in the afternoon, that we ſaw them return with a few plantain-trees, which they carried to our boats.

In the mean time, Mr. Burney and I attempted again to go to the beach; but when we arrived, found ourſelves watched by people, who, to appearance, had been placed there for this purpoſe. For when I tried to wade in upon the reef, one of them took hold of my clothes, and dragged me back. I picked up ſome ſmall pieces of coral, which they required me to throw down again; and, on my refuſal, they made no ſcruple to take them forcibly from me. I had gathered ſome ſmall plants; but theſe alſo I could not be permitted to retain. And they took a fan from Mr. Burney, which he had received as a preſent on coming aſhore. Omai ſaid, we had done wrong in taking up any thing; for it was not the cuſtom here to permit freedoms of that kind to ſtrangers, till they had, in ſome meaſure, naturalized them to the country, by entertaining them with feſtivity for two or three days.

Finding that the only method of procuring better treatment was to yield implicit obedience to their will, we went up again to the place we had left; and they now promiſed, that we ſhould have a canoe to carry us off to our boats, after we had eaten of a repaſt which had been prepared for us.

Accordingly, the ſecond Chief, to whom we had been introduced in the morning, having ſeated himſelf upon a low broad ſtool of blackiſh hard wood, tolerably poliſhed, and directing the multitude to make a pretty large ring, made us ſit down by him. A conſiderable number of cocoa-nuts

were now brought; and, ſhortly after, a long green baſket, with a ſufficient quantity of baked plantains to have ſerved a dozen perſons. A piece of the young hog, that had been dreſſed, was then ſet before each of us, of which we were deſired to eat. Our appetites, however, had failed, from the fatigue of the day; and though we did eat a little to pleaſe them, it was without ſatisfaction to ourſelves. 1777. April.

It being now near ſun-ſet, we told them it was time to go on board. This they allowed; and ſent down to the beach the remainder of the victuals that had been dreſſed, to be carried with us to the ſhips. But, before we ſet out, Omai was treated with a drink he had been uſed to in his own country; which, we obſerved, was made here, as at other iſlands in the South Sea, by chewing the root of a ſort of pepper. We found a canoe ready to put us off to our boats; which the natives did, with the ſame caution as when we landed. But, even here, their thieviſh diſpoſition did not leave them. For a perſon of ſome conſequence among them, who came with us, took an opportunity, juſt as they were puſhing the canoe into the ſurf, to ſnatch a bag out of her, which I had, with the greateſt difficulty, preſerved all the day; there being in it a ſmall pocket-piſtol, which I was unwilling to part with. Perceiving him, I called out, expreſſing as much diſpleaſure as I could. On which he thought proper to return, and ſwim with the bag to the canoe; but denied he had ſtolen it, though detected in the very act. They put us on board our boats, with the cocoa-nuts, plantains, and other proviſions, which they had brought; and we rowed to the ſhips, very well pleaſed that we had at laſt got out of the hands of our troubleſome maſters.

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We regretted much, that our reſtrained ſituation gave us ſo little opportunity of making obſervations on the country. For, during the whole day, we were ſeldom a hundred yards from the place where we were introduced to the Chiefs on landing; and, conſequently, were confined to the ſurrounding objects. The firſt thing that preſented itſelf, worthy of our notice, was the number of people; which muſt have been, at leaſt, two thouſand. For thoſe who welcomed us on the ſhore, bore no proportion to the multitude we found amongſt the trees, on proceeding a little way up.

We could alſo obſerve, that, except a few, thoſe we had hitherto ſeen on board, were of the lower claſs. For a great number of thoſe we now met with, had a ſuperior dignity in their air, and were of a much whiter caſt. In general, they had the hair tied on the crown of the head, long, black, and of a moſt luxuriant growth. Many of the young men were perfect models in ſhape, of a complexion as delicate as that of the women, and, to appearance, of a diſpoſition as amiable. Others, who were more advanced in years, were corpulent; and all had a remarkable ſmoothneſs of the ſkin. Their general dreſs was a piece of cloth, or mat, wrapped about the waiſt, and covering the parts which modeſty conceals. But ſome had pieces of mats, moſt curiouſly varied with black and white, made into a ſort of jacket without ſleeves; and others wore conical caps of cocoa-nut core, neatly interwoven with ſmall beads, made of a ſhelly ſubſtance. Their ears were pierced; and in them they hung bits of the membraneous part of ſome plant, or ſtuck there an odoriferous flower, which ſeemed to be a ſpecies of *gardenia*. Some, who were of a ſuperior claſs, and alſo the Chiefs, had two little balls, with a common baſe, made

made from the bone of ſome animal, which was hung round the neck, with a great many folds of ſmall cord. And after the ceremony of introduction to the Chiefs was over, they then appeared without their red feathers; which are certainly conſidered here as a particular mark of diſtinction; for none but themſelves, and the young women who danced, aſſumed them. 1777. April.

Some of the men were punctured all over the ſides and back, in an uncommon manner; and ſome of the women had the ſame ornament on their legs. But this method was confined to thoſe who ſeemed to be of a ſuperior rank; and the men, in that caſe, were alſo generally diſtinguiſhed by their ſize and corpulence, unleſs very young. The women of an advanced age had their hair cropped ſhort; and many were cut, in oblique lines, all over the fore-part of the body; and ſome of the wounds, which formed rhomboidal figures, had been ſo lately inflicted, that the coagulated blood ſtill remained in them.

The wife of one of the Chiefs appeared with her child, laid in a piece of red cloth, which had been preſented to her huſband; and ſeemed to carry it with great tenderneſs, ſuckling it much after the manner of our women. Another Chief introduced his daughter, who was young and beautiful; but appeared with all the timidity natural to the ſex; though ſhe gazed on us with a kind of anxious concern, that ſeemed to ſtruggle with her fear, and to expreſs her aſtoniſhment at ſo unuſual a ſight. Others advanced with more firmneſs, and, indeed, were leſs reſerved than we expected; but behaved with a becoming modeſty. We did not obſerve any perſonal deformities amongſt either ſex; except in a few who had ſcars of broad ſuperficial ulcers,

1777. April. remaining on the face and other parts. In proportion to the number of people aſſembled, there appeared not many old men or women; which may eaſily be accounted for, by ſuppoſing that ſuch as were in an advanced period of life, might neither have the inclination, nor the ability, to come from the more diſtant parts of the iſland. On the other hand, the children were numerous; and both theſe, and the men, climbed the trees to look at us, when we were hid by the ſurrounding crowd.

About a third part of the men were armed with clubs and ſpears; and, probably, theſe were only the perſons who had come from a diſtance, as many of them had ſmall baſkets, mats, and other things, faſtened to the ends of their weapons. The clubs were generally about ſix feet long, made of a hard black wood, lance-ſhaped at the end, but much broader, with the edge nicely ſcolloped, and the whole neatly poliſhed. Others of them were narrower at the point, much ſhorter, and plain; and ſome were even ſo ſmall, as to be uſed with one hand. The ſpears were made of the ſame wood, ſimply pointed; and, in general, above twelve feet long; though ſome were ſo ſhort, that they ſeemed intended to be thrown as darts.

The place where we were all the day, was under the ſhade of various trees; in which they preſerved their canoes from the ſun. About eight or ten of them were here, all double ones; that is, two ſingle ones faſtened together (as is uſual, throughout the whole extent of the Pacific Ocean), by rafters laſhed acroſs. They were about twenty feet long, about four feet deep, and the ſides rounded with a plank raiſed upon them, which was faſtened ſtrongly by means of withes. Two of theſe canoes were moſt curiouſly ſtained,

ſtained, or painted, all over with black, in numberleſs ſmall figures; as ſquares, triangles, &c. and excelled, by far, any thing of that kind I had ever ſeen at any other iſland in this ocean. Our friends here, indeed, ſeemed to have exerted more ſkill in doing this, than in puncturing their own bodies. The paddles were about four feet long, nearly elliptical; but broader at the upper end than the middle. Near the ſame place was a hut or ſhed, about thirty feet long, and nine or ten high; in which, perhaps, theſe boats are built; but, at this time, it was empty. 1777. April.

The greateſt number of the trees around us were *cocoa-palms;* ſome ſorts of *hibiſcus*; a ſpecies of *euphorbia*; and, toward the ſea, abundance of the ſame kind of trees we had ſeen at Mangeea Nooe Nainaiwa; and which ſeemed to ſurround the ſhores of this iſland in the ſame manner. They are tall and ſlender, not much unlike a cypreſs; but with bunches of long, round, articulated leaves. The natives call them *etoa.* On the ground we ſaw ſome graſs; a ſpecies of *convolvulus*; and a good deal of *treacle-muſtard.* There are alſo, doubtleſs, other fruit-trees and uſeful plants which we did not ſee. For, beſides ſeveral ſorts of *plantains,* they brought, at different times, roots which they call *taro* (the *coccos* of other countries); a bread-fruit; and a baſket of roaſted nuts, of a kidney-ſhape, in taſte like a cheſnut, but coarſer.

What the ſoil of the iſland may be, farther inland, we could not tell. But, toward the ſea, it is nothing more than a bank of coral, ten or twelve feet high, ſteep, and rugged; except where there are ſmall ſandy beaches, at ſome clefts where the aſcent is gradual. The coral, though it has, probably, been expoſed to the weather for many centuries, has undergone no farther change than becom-

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ing black on the ſurface; which, from its irregularity, is not much unlike large maſſes of a burnt ſubſtance. But, on breaking ſome pieces off, we found, that, at the depth of two or three inches, it was juſt as freſh as the pieces that had been lately thrown upon the beach by the waves. The reef or rock, that lines the ſhore entirely, runs to different breadths into the ſea, where it ends, all at once, and becomes like a high, ſteep wall. It is, nearly, even with the ſurface of the water, and of a brown or brick colour; but the texture is rather porous, yet ſufficient to withſtand the waſhing of the ſurf which continually breaks upon it."

Though the landing of our Gentlemen proved the means of enriching my Journal with the foregoing particulars, the principal object I had in view was, in a great meaſure, unattained; for the day was ſpent without getting any one thing from the iſland worth mentioning. The natives, however, were gratified with a ſight they never before had; and, probably, will never have again. And mere curioſity ſeems to have been their chief motive for keeping the gentlemen under ſuch reſtraint, and for uſing every art to prolong their continuance amongſt them.

It has been mentioned, that Omai was ſent upon this expedition; and, perhaps, his being Mr. Gore's interpreter was not the only ſervice he performed this day. He was aſked, by the natives, a great many queſtions concerning us, our ſhips, our country, and the ſort of arms we uſed; and, according to the account he gave me, his anſwers were not a little upon the marvellous. As, for inſtance, he told them, that our country had ſhips as large as their iſland; on board which were inſtruments of war (deſcribing our guns), of ſuch dimenſions, that ſeveral people might ſit within them;

and that one of them was ſufficient to cruſh the whole iſland at one ſhot. This led them to inquire of him, what ſort of guns we actually had in our two ſhips. He ſaid, that though they were but ſmall, in compariſon with thoſe he had juſt deſcribed, yet, with ſuch as they were, we could, with the greateſt eaſe, and at the diſtance the ſhips were from the ſhore, deſtroy the iſland, and kill every ſoul in it. They perſevered in their inquiries, to know by what means this could be done; and Omai explained the matter as well as he could. He happened luckily to have a few cartridges in his pocket. Theſe he produced; the balls, and the gunpowder which was to ſet them in motion, were ſubmitted to inſpection; and, to ſupply the defects of his deſcription, an appeal was made to the ſenſes of the ſpectators. It has been mentioned above, that one of the Chiefs had ordered the multitude to form themſelves into a circle. This furniſhed Omai with a convenient ſtage for his exhibition. In the center of this amphitheatre, the inconſiderable quantity of gunpowder, collected from his cartridges, was properly diſpoſed upon the ground, and, by means of a bit of burning wood from the oven, where dinner was dreſſing, ſet on fire. The ſudden blaſt, and loud report, the mingled flame and ſmoke, that inſtantly ſucceeded, now filled the whole aſſembly with aſtoniſhment; they no longer doubted the tremendous power of our weapons, and gave full credit to all that Omai had ſaid. 1777. April.

If it had not been for the terrible ideas they conceived of the guns of our ſhips, from this ſpecimen of their mode of operation, it was thought that they would have detained the gentlemen all night. For Omai aſſured them, that, if he and his companions did not return on board the ſame day, they might expect that I would fire upon the iſland.

And

1777. April. And as we ſtood in nearer the land in the evening, than we had done any time before, of which poſition of the ſhips they were obſerved to take great notice, they, probably, thought we were meditating this formidable attack; and, therefore, ſuffered their gueſts to depart; under the expectation, however, of ſeeing them again on ſhore next morning. But I was too ſenſible of the riſk they had already run, to think of a repetition of the experiment.

This day, it ſeems, was deſtined to give Omai more occaſions than one, of being brought forward to bear a principal part in its tranſactions. The iſland, though never before viſited by Europeans, actually happened to have other ſtrangers reſiding in it; and it was entirely owing to Omai's being one of Mr. Gore's attendants, that this curious circumſtance came to our knowledge.

Scarcely had he been landed upon the beach, when he found, amongſt the crowd there aſſembled, three of his own countrymen, natives of the Society Iſlands. At the diſtance of about two hundred leagues from thoſe iſlands, an immenſe, unknown ocean intervening, with ſuch wretched ſea-boats as their inhabitants are known to make uſe of, and fit only for a paſſage where ſight of land is ſcarcely ever loſt, ſuch a meeting, at ſuch a place, ſo accidentally viſited by us, may well be looked upon as one of thoſe unexpected ſituations, with which the writers of feigned adventures love to ſurpriſe their readers, and which, when they really happen in common life, deſerve to be recorded for their ſingularity.

It may eaſily be gueſſed, with what mutual ſurpriſe and ſatisfaction Omai and his countrymen engaged in converſation. Their ſtory, as related by them, is an affecting one.

About

About twenty perſons in number, of both ſexes, had embarked on board a canoe at Otaheite, to croſs over to the neighbouring iſland Ulietea. A violent contrary wind ariſing, they could neither reach the latter, nor get back to the former. Their intended paſſage being a very ſhort one, their ſtock of proviſions was ſcanty, and ſoon exhauſted. The hardſhips they ſuffered, while driven along by the ſtorm, they knew not whither, are not to be conceived. They paſſed many days without having any thing to eat or drink. Their numbers gradually diminiſhed, worn out by famine and fatigue. Four men only ſurvived, when the canoe overſet; and then the perdition of this ſmall remnant ſeemed inevitable. However, they kept hanging by the ſide of their veſſel, during ſome of the laſt days, till Providence brought them in ſight of the people of this iſland, who immediately ſent out canoes, took them off their wreck, and brought them aſhore. Of the four who were thus ſaved, one was ſince dead. The other three, who lived to have this opportunity of giving an account of their almoſt miraculous tranſplantation, ſpoke highly of the kind treatment they here met with. And ſo well ſatisfied were they with their ſituation, that they refuſed the offer made to them by our gentlemen, at Omai's requeſt, of giving them a paſſage on board our ſhips, to reſtore them to their native iſlands. The ſimilarity of manners and language, had more than naturalized them to this ſpot; and the freſh connexions which they had here formed, and which it would have been painful to have broken off, after ſuch a length of time, ſufficiently account for their declining to reviſit the places of their birth. They had arrived upon this iſland at leaſt twelve years ago. For I learnt from Mr. Anderſon, that he found they knew no-

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thing of Captain Wallis's viſit to Otaheite in 1765; nor of ſeveral other memorable occurrences, ſuch as the conqueſt of Ulietea by thoſe of Bolabola, which had preceded the arrival of the Europeans. To Mr. Anderſon I am alſo indebted for their names, Orououte, Otirreroa, and Tavee; the firſt, born at Matavai in Otaheite; the ſecond, at Ulietea; and the third at Huaheine.

The landing of our gentlemen on this iſland, though they failed in the object of it, cannot but be conſidered as a very fortunate circumſtance. It has proved, as we have ſeen, the means of bringing to our knowledge a matter of fact, not only very curious, but very inſtructive. The application of the above narrative is obvious. It will ſerve to explain, better than a thouſand conjectures of ſpeculative reaſoners, how the detached parts of the earth, and, in particular, how the iſlands of the South Sea, may have been firſt peopled; eſpecially thoſe that lie remote from any inhabited continent, or from each other*.

* Such accidents as this here related, probably happen frequently in the Pacific Ocean. In 1696, two canoes, having on board thirty perſons of both ſexes, were driven, by contrary winds and tempeſtuous weather, on the iſle of Samal, one of the Philippines, after being toſt about at ſea ſeventy days, and having performed a voyage, from an iſland called by them Amorſot, 300 leagues to the Eaſt of Samal. Five of the number who had embarked, died of the hardſhips ſuffered during this extraordinary paſſage. See a particular account of them, and of the iſlands they belonged to, in *Lettres Edifiantes & Curieuſes*, Tom. xv. from p. 196. to p. 215. In the ſame Volume, from p. 282. to p. 320. we have the relation of a ſimilar adventure, in 1721, when two canoes, one containing twenty-four, and the other ſix perſons, men, women, and children, were driven, from an iſland they called Farroilep, Northward to the iſle of Guam, or Guahan, one of the Ladrones or Mariannes. But theſe had not failed ſo far as their countrymen, who reached Samal as above, and they had been at ſea only twenty days. There ſeems to be no reaſon to doubt the general authenticity of theſe two relations. The information contained in the letters of the Jeſuits, about theſe iſlands, now known under the name of the Carolines, and diſcovered to the Spaniards by the arrival of the canoes at Samal and Guam, has been adopted by all our later writers. See Preſident de Broſſe's *Voyages aux Terres Auſtrales*, Tom. ii. from p. 443. to p. 490. See alſo the *Modern Univerſal Hiſtory*.

This

This iſland is called Wateeoo by the natives. It lies, in the latitude of 20° 1′ South, and in the longitude 201° 45′ Eaſt, and is about ſix leagues in circumference. It is a beautiful ſpot, with a ſurface compoſed of hills and plains, and covered with verdure of many hues. Our gentlemen found the ſoil, where they paſſed the day, to be light and ſandy. But farther up the country, a different ſort, perhaps, prevails; as we ſaw from the ſhip, by the help of our glaſſes, a reddiſh caſt upon the riſing grounds. There the inhabitants have their houſes; for we could perceive two or three, which were long and ſpacious. Its produce, with the addition of hogs, we found to be the ſame as at the laſt iſland we had viſited, which the people of this, to whom we pointed out its poſition, called Owhavarouah; a name ſo different from Mangeea Nooe Nainaiwa, which we learnt from its own inhabitants, that it is highly probable Owhavarouah is another iſland. 1777. April.

From the circumſtances already mentioned, it appears, that Wateeoo can be of little uſe to any ſhip that wants refreſhment, unleſs in a caſe of the moſt abſolute neceſſity. The natives, knowing now the value of ſome of our commodities, might be induced to bring off fruits and hogs, to a ſhip ſtanding off and on, or to boats lying off the reef, as ours did. It is doubtful, however, if any freſh water could be procured. For, though ſome was brought, in cocoa nut ſhells, to the gentlemen, they were told, that it was at a conſiderable diſtance; and, probably, it is only to be met with in ſome ſtagnant pool, as no running ſtream was any where ſeen.

According to Omai's report of what he learnt in converſation with his three countrymen, the manners of theſe

1777. April. iſlanders, their method of treating ſtrangers, and their general habits of life, are much like thoſe that prevail at Otaheite, and its neighbouring iſles. Their religious ceremonies and opinions are alſo nearly the ſame. For, upon ſeeing one man, who was painted all over of a deep black colour, and inquiring the reaſon, our gentlemen were told, that he had lately been paying the laſt good offices to a deceaſed friend; and they found, that it was upon ſimilar occaſions, the women cut themſelves, as already mentioned. From every circumſtance, indeed, it is indubitable, that the natives of Wateeoo ſprung, originally, from the ſame ſtock, which hath ſpread itſelf ſo wonderfully all over the immenſe extent of the South Sea. One would ſuppoſe, however, that they put in their claim to a more illuſtrious extraction; for Omai aſſured us, that they dignified their iſland with the appellation of *Wenooa no te Eatooa*, that is, A land of gods; eſteeming themſelves a ſort of divinities, and poſſeſſed with the ſpirit of the Eatooa. This wild enthuſiaſtic notion Omai ſeemed much to approve of, telling us there were inſtances of its being entertained at Otaheite; but that it was univerſally prevalent amongſt the inhabitants of Mataia, or Oſnaburg Iſland.

The language ſpoken at Wateeoo was equally well underſtood by Omai, and by our two New Zealanders. What its peculiarities may be, when compared with the other dialects, I am not able to point out; for, though Mr. Anderſon had taken care to note down a ſpecimen of it, the natives, who made no diſtinction of the objects of their theft, ſtole the memorandum book.

CHAP.

CHAP. III.

Wenooa-ette, or Otakootaia, viſited.—Account of that Iſland, and of its Produce.—Hervey's Iſland, or Terougge mou Attooa, found to be inhabited.—Tranſactions with the Natives.—Their Perſons, Dreſs, Language, Canoes.—Fruitleſs Attempt to land there.—Reaſons for bearing away for the Friendly Iſlands.—Palmerſton's Iſland touched at.—Deſcription of the two Places where the Boats landed.—Refreſhments obtained there.—Conjectures on the Formation of ſuch low Iſlands.—Arrival at the Friendly Iſlands.

LIGHT airs and calms having prevailed, by turns, all the night of the 3d, the Eaſterly ſwell had carried the ſhips ſome diſtance from Wateeoo, before day-break. But as I had failed in my object of procuring, at that place, ſome effectual ſupply, I ſaw no reaſon for ſtaying there any longer. I, therefore, quitted it, without regret, and ſteered for the neighbouring iſland, which, as has been mentioned, we diſcovered three days before. 1777. April. Friday 4.

With a gentle breeze at Eaſt, we got up with it, before ten o'clock in the morning, and I immediately diſpatched Mr. Gore, with two boats, to endeavour to land, and get ſome food for our cattle. As there ſeemed to be no inhabitants here to obſtruct our taking away whatever we might think proper, I was confident of his being able to make amends for our late diſappointment, if the landing could be-

1777. April. be effected. There was a reef here ſurrounding the land, as at Wateeoo, and a conſiderable ſurf breaking againſt the rocks. Notwithſtanding which, our boats no ſooner reached the lee, or Weſt ſide of the iſland, but they ventured in, and Mr. Gore and his party got ſafe on ſhore. I could, from the ſhip, ſee that they had ſucceeded ſo far; and I immediately ſent a ſmall boat to know what farther aſſiſtance was wanting. She did not return till three o'clock in the afternoon, having waited to take in a lading of what uſeful produce the iſland afforded. As ſoon as ſhe was cleared, ſhe was ſent again for another cargo; the Jolly boat was alſo diſpatched, and Mr. Gore was ordered to be on board, with all the boats, before night; which was complied with.

The ſupply obtained here, conſiſted of about a hundred cocoa nuts for each ſhip; and beſides this refreſhment for ourſelves, we got for our cattle ſome graſs, and a quantity of the leaves and branches of young cocoa trees, and of the *wharra* tree, as it is called at Otaheite, the *pandanus* of the Eaſt Indies. This latter being of a ſoft, ſpungy, juicy nature, the cattle eat it very well, when cut into ſmall pieces; ſo that it might be ſaid, without any deviation from truth, that we fed them upon billet wood.

This iſland lies in the latitude of 19° 15′ South, and the longitude of 201° 37′ Eaſt, about three or four leagues from Wateeoo, the inhabitants of which called it *Otakootaia*; and ſometimes they ſpoke of it under the appellation of *Wenooaette*, which ſignifies little iſland. Mr. Anderſon, who was on ſhore with our party, and walked round it, gueſſed that it could not be much more than three miles in circuit. From him I alſo learned the following particulars. The

beach, within the reef, is compoſed of a white coral ſand; above which, the land within does not riſe above ſix or ſeven feet, and is covered with a light reddiſh ſoil; but is entirely deſtitute of water. 1777. April.

The only common trees found there were cocoa-palms, of which there were ſeveral cluſters; and vaſt numbers of the *wharra*. There were, likewiſe, the *callophyllum*, *ſuriana*, *guettarda*, a ſpecies of *tournefortia*, and *tabernæ montanæ*, with a few other ſhrubs; and ſome of the *etoa* tree ſeen at Wateeoo. A ſort of *bind-weed* over-ran the vacant ſpaces; except in ſome places, where was found a conſiderable quantity of *treacle-muſtard*, a ſpecies of *ſpurge*, with a few other ſmall plants, and the *morinda citrifolia*; the fruit of which is eaten by the natives of Otaheite in times of ſcarcity. Omai, who had landed with the party, dreſſed ſome of it for their dinner; but it proved very indifferent.

The only bird ſeen amongſt the trees, was a beautiful cuckoo, of a cheſnut-brown, variegated with black, which was ſhot. But, upon the ſhore, were ſome egg-birds; a ſmall ſort of curlew; blue and white herons; and great numbers of noddies; which laſt, at this time, laid their eggs, a little farther up, on the ground, and often reſted on the *wharra* tree.

One of our people caught a lizard, of a moſt forbidding aſpect, though ſmall, running up a tree; and many, of another ſort, were ſeen. The buſhes toward the ſea, were frequented by infinite numbers of a ſort of moth, elegantly ſpeckled with red, black, and white. There were alſo ſeveral other ſorts of moths, as well as ſome pretty butterflies; and a few other inſects.

Though

1777. April. Though there were, at this time, no fixed inhabitants upon the iſland, indubitable marks remained of its being, at leaſt, occaſionally frequented. In particular, a few empty huts were found. There were alſo ſeveral large ſtones erected, like monuments, under the ſhade of ſome trees; and ſeveral ſpaces incloſed with ſmaller ones; where, probably, the dead had been buried. And, in one place, a great many cockle-ſhells, of a particular ſort, finely grooved, and larger than the fiſt, were to be ſeen; from which it was reaſonable to conjecture, that the iſland had been viſited by perſons who feed, partly, on ſhell-fiſh. In one of the huts, Mr. Gore left a hatchet, and ſome nails, to the full value of what we took away.

As ſoon as the boats were hoiſted in, I made ſail again to the northward, with a light air of wind Eaſterly; intending to try our fortune at Hervey's Iſland, which was diſcovered in 1773, during my laſt voyage *. Although it was not above fifteen leagues diſtant, yet we did not get ſight of
Sunday 6. it till day-break in the morning of the 6th, when it bore Weſt South Weſt, at the diſtance of about three leagues. As we drew near it, at eight o'clock, we obſerved ſeveral canoes put off from the ſhore; and they came directly toward the ſhips. This was a ſight that, indeed, ſurprized me, as no ſigns of inhabitants were ſeen when the iſland was firſt diſcovered; which might be owing to a pretty briſk wind that then blew, and prevented their canoes venturing out, as the ſhips paſſed to leeward; whereas now we were to windward.

* See Captain Cook's Voyage, Vol. i. p. 190. where this iſland is ſaid to be about ſix leagues in circuit.

As

As we ſtill kept on toward the iſland, ſix or ſeven of the canoes, all double ones, ſoon came near us. There were, from three to ſix men, in each of them. They ſtopped at the diſtance of about a ſtone's throw from the ſhip; and it was ſome time before Omai could prevail upon them to come along-ſide; but no intreaties could induce any of them to venture on board. Indeed their diſorderly and clamorous behaviour, by no means indicated a diſpoſition to truſt us, or treat us well. We afterward learnt that they had attempted to take ſome oars out of the Diſcovery's boat, that lay along-ſide, and ſtruck a man who endeavoured to prevent them. They alſo cut away, with a ſhell, a net with meat, which hung over that ſhip's ſtern, and abſolutely refuſed to reſtore it; though we, afterward, purchaſed it from them. Thoſe who were about our ſhip, behaved in the ſame daring manner; for they made a ſort of hook, of a long ſtick, with which they endeavoured, openly, to rob us of ſeveral things; and, at laſt, actually got a frock belonging to one of our people, that was towing over-board. At the ſame time, they immediately ſhewed a knowledge of bartering, and ſold ſome fiſh they had (amongſt which was an extraordinary flounder, ſpotted like porphyry; and a cream-coloured eel, ſpotted with black), for ſmall nails, of which they were immoderately fond, and called them *goore*. But, indeed, they caught, with the greateſt avidity, bits of paper, or any thing elſe that was thrown to them; and if what was thrown fell into the ſea, they made no ſcruple to ſwim after it. 1777. April.

Theſe people ſeemed to differ as much in perſon, as in diſpoſition, from the natives of Wateeoo; though the diſtance between the two iſlands is not very great. Their colour was of a deeper caſt; and ſeveral had a fierce, rugged

1777. April. aſpect, reſembling the natives of New Zealand; but ſome were fairer. They had ſtrong black hair, which, in general, they wore either hanging looſe about the ſhoulders, or tied in a bunch on the crown of the head. Some, however, had it cropped pretty ſhort; and, in two or three of them, it was of a brown, or reddiſh colour. Their only covering was a narrow piece of mat, wrapt ſeveral times round the lower part of the body, and which paſſed between the thighs; but a fine cap of red feathers was ſeen lying in one of the canoes. The ſhell of a pearl-oyſter poliſhed, and hung about the neck, was the only ornamental faſhion that we obſerved amongſt them; for not one of them had adopted that mode of ornament, ſo generally prevalent amongſt the natives of this Ocean, of puncturing, or *tatooing* their bodies.

Though ſingular in this, we had the moſt unequivocal proofs of their being of the ſame common race. Their language approached ſtill nearer to the dialect of Otaheite, than that of Wateeoo, or Mangeea. Like the inhabitants of theſe two iſlands, they inquired from whence our ſhips came; and whither bound; who was our Chief; the number of our men on board; and even the ſhip's name. And they very readily anſwered ſuch queſtions as we propoſed to them. Amongſt other things, they told us, they had ſeen two great ſhips, like ours, before; but that they had not ſpoken with them as they ſailed paſt. There can be no doubt, that theſe were the Reſolution and Adventure. We learnt from them, that the name of their iſland is Terouggemou Atooa; and that they were ſubject to Teerevatooeah, king of Wateeoo*. According to the account

* The reader will obſerve, that this name bears little affinity to any one of the names of the three Chiefs of Wateeoo, as preſerved by Mr. Anderſon,

that

that they gave, their articles of food are cocoa-nuts, fiſh, and turtle; the iſland not producing plantains, or bread-fruit; and being deſtitute of hogs and dogs. Their canoes, of which near thirty were, at one time, in ſight, are pretty large, and well built. In the conſtruction of the ſtern, they bear ſome reſemblance to thoſe of Wateeoo; and the head projects out nearly in the ſame manner; but the extremity is turned up inſtead of down. 1777. April.

Having but very little wind, it was one o'clock before we drew near the North Weſt part of the iſland; the only part where there ſeemed to be any probability of finding anchorage for our ſhips, or a landing-place for our boats. In this poſition, I ſent Lieutenant King, with two armed boats, to ſound and reconnoitre the coaſt, while we ſtood off and on with the ſhips. The inſtant the boats were hoiſted out, our viſiters in the canoes, who had remained along-ſide all the while, bartering their little trifles, ſuſpended their traffic, and, puſhing for the ſhore as faſt as they could, came near us no more.

At three o'clock, the boats returned; and Mr. King informed me, "That there was no anchorage for the ſhips; and that the boats could only land on the outer edge of the reef, which lay about a quarter of a mile from the dry land. He ſaid, that a number of the natives came down upon the reef, armed with long pikes and clubs, as if they intended to oppoſe his landing. And yet, when he drew near enough, they threw ſome cocoa-nuts to our people, and invited them to come on ſhore; though, at the very ſame time, he obſerved that the women were very buſy bringing down a freſh ſupply of ſpears and darts. But, as

1777. April. he had no motive to land, he did not give them an opportunity to uſe them."

Having received this report, I conſidered, that, as the ſhips could not be brought to an anchor, we ſhould find that the attempt to procure graſs here, would occaſion much delay, as well as be attended with ſome danger. Beſides, we were equally in want of water; and though the inhabitants had told us, that there was water on their iſland, yet we neither knew in what quantity, nor from what diſtance, we might be obliged to fetch it. And, after all, ſuppoſing no other obſtruction, we were ſure, that to get over the reef, would be an operation equally difficult and tedious.

Being thus diſappointed at all the iſlands we had met with, ſince our leaving New Zealand, and the unfavourable winds, and other unforeſeen circumſtances, having unavoidably retarded our progreſs ſo much, it was now impoſſible to think of doing any thing this year, in the high latitudes of the Northern hemiſphere, from which we were ſtill at ſo great a diſtance, though the ſeaſon for our operations there was already begun. In this ſituation, it was abſolutely neceſſary to purſue ſuch meaſures as were moſt likely to preſerve the cattle we had on board, in the firſt place; and, in the next place (which was ſtill a more capital object), to ſave the ſtores and proviſions of the ſhips, that we might be better enabled to proſecute our Northern diſcoveries, which could not now commence till a year later than was orginally intended.

If I had been ſo fortunate as to have procured a ſupply of water, and of graſs, at any of the iſlands we had lately viſited, it was my purpoſe to have ſtood back to the South, till I had

had met with a Weſterly wind. But the certain conſequence of doing this, without ſuch a ſupply, would have been the loſs of all the cattle, before we could poſſibly reach Otaheite, without gaining any one advantage, with regard to the great object of our voyage. 1777. April.

I, therefore, determined to bear away for the Friendly Iſlands, where I was ſure of meeting with abundance of every thing I wanted: and it being neceſſary to run in the night, as well as in the day, I ordered Captain Clerke to keep about a league ahead of the Reſolution. I uſed this precaution, becauſe his ſhip could beſt claw off the land; and it was very poſſible we might fall in with ſome, in our paſſage.

The longitude of Hervey's Iſland, when firſt diſcovered, deduced from Otaheite, by the time-keeper, was found to be 201° 6′ Eaſt, and now, by the ſame time-keeper, deduced from Queen Charlotte's Sound, 200° 56′ Eaſt. Hence I conclude, that the error of the time-keeper, at this time, did not exceed twelve miles in longitude.

When we bore away, I ſteered Weſt by South, with a fine breeze Eaſterly. I propoſed to proceed firſt to Middleburgh, or Eooa; thinking, if the wind continued favourable, that we had food enough on board, for the cattle, to laſt till we ſhould reach that iſland. But, about noon, next day, thoſe faint breezes, that had attended and retarded us ſo long, again returned; and I found it neceſſary to haul more to the North, to get into the latitude of Palmerſton's and Savage Iſlands, diſcovered in 1774, during my laſt voyage*; that, if neceſſity required it, we might have recourſe to them. Monday 7.

* See Cook's Voyage, Vol. ii. p. 2, 3.

This

1777. April. This day, in order to ſave our water, I ordered the ſtill to be kept at work, from ſix o'clock in the morning to four in the afternoon; during which time, we procured from thirteen to ſixteen gallons of freſh water. There has been lately made ſome improvement, as they are pleaſed to call it, of this machine, which, in my opinion, is much for the worſe.

Thurſday 10. Theſe light breezes continued till the 10th, when we had, for ſome hours, the wind blowing freſh from the North, and North North Weſt; being then in the latitude of 18° 38′, and longitude 198° 24′ Eaſt. In the afternoon, we had ſome thunder ſqualls from the South, attended with heavy rain; of which water, we collected enough to fill five puncheons. After theſe ſqualls had blown over, the wind came round to the North Eaſt, and North Weſt; being very unſettled Friday 11. both in ſtrength and in poſition, till about noon the next day, when it fixed at North Weſt, and North North Weſt, and blew a freſh breeze, with fair weather.

Thus were we perſecuted with a wind in our teeth, whichever way we directed our courſe; and we had the additional mortification to find here, thoſe very winds, which we had reaſon to expect 8° or 10° farther South. They came too late; for I durſt not truſt their continuance; and the event proved that I judged right.

Sunday 13. At length, at day-break, in the morning of the 13th, we ſaw Palmerſton Iſland, bearing Weſt by South, diſtant about five leagues. However, we did not get up with it, till eight Monday 14. o'clock the next morning. I then ſent four boats, three from the Reſolution, and one from the Diſcovery, with an officer in each, to ſearch the coaſt for the moſt convenient landing-place. For, now, we were under an abſolute neceſ-

ſity of procuring, from this iſland, ſome food for the cattle; otherwiſe we muſt have loſt them. 1777. April.

What is comprehended under the name of Palmerſton's Iſland, is a group of ſmall iſlots, of which there are, in the whole, nine or ten, lying in a circular direction, and connected together by a reef of coral rocks. The boats firſt examined the South Eaſternmoſt of the iſlots which compoſe this group; and, failing there, ran down to the ſecond, where we had the ſatisfaction to ſee them land. I then bore down with the ſhips, till abreaſt of the place, and there we kept ſtanding off and on. For no bottom was to be found to anchor upon; which was not of much conſequence, as the party who had landed from our boats, were the only human beings upon the iſland.

About one o'clock, one of the boats came on board, laden with ſcurvy-graſs and young cocoa-nut trees; which, at this time, was a feaſt for the cattle. The ſame boat brought a meſſage from Mr. Gore, who commanded the party, informing me, that there was plenty of ſuch produce upon the iſland, as alſo of the *wharra* tree, and ſome cocoa-nuts. This determined me to get a good ſupply of theſe articles, before I quitted this ſtation; and, before evening, I went aſhore in a ſmall boat, accompanied by Captain Clerke.

We found every body hard at work, and the landing place to be in a ſmall creek, formed by the reef, of ſomething more than a boat's length in every direction, and covered from the force of the ſea, by rocks projecting out on each ſide of it. The iſland is ſcarcely a mile in circuit; and not above three feet higher than the level of the ſea. It appeared to be compoſed entirely of a coral ſand, with a ſmall mixture of blackiſh mould, produced from rotten vegetables.

1777. April. tables. Notwithſtanding this poor ſoil, it is covered with trees and buſhes of the ſame kind as at Wenooa-ette, though with leſs variety; and amongſt theſe are ſome cocoa-palms. Upon the trees or buſhes that front the ſea, or even farther in, we found a great number of men of war birds, Tropic birds, and two ſorts of boobies, which, at this time, were laying their eggs, and ſo tame, that they ſuffered us to take them off with our hands. Their neſts were only a few ſticks looſely put together; and the Tropic birds laid their eggs on the ground, under the trees. Theſe differ much from the common ſort, being entirely of a moſt ſplendid white, ſlightly tinged with red, and having the two long tail-feathers of a deep crimſon or blood colour. Of each ſort, our people killed a conſiderable number; and, though not the moſt delicate food, they were acceptable enough to us who had been long confined to a ſalt diet, and who, conſequently, could not but be glad of the moſt indifferent variety. We met with vaſt numbers of red crabs, creeping about, every where amongſt the trees; and we caught ſeveral fiſh that had been left in holes upon the reef, when the ſea retired.

At one part of the reef, which looks into, or bounds, the lake that is within, there was a large bed of coral, almoſt even with the ſurface, which afforded, perhaps, one of the moſt enchanting proſpects, that Nature has, any where, produced. Its baſe was fixed to the ſhore, but reached ſo far in, that it could not be ſeen; ſo that it ſeemed to be ſuſpended in the water, which deepened ſo ſuddenly, that, at the diſtance of a few yards, there might be ſeven or eight fathoms. The ſea was, at this time, quite unruffled; and the ſun, ſhining bright, expoſed the various ſorts of coral, in the moſt beautiful order; ſome parts branching into the water

water with great luxuriance; others, lying collected in round balls, and in various other figures; all which were greatly heightened by ſpangles of the richeſt colours, that glowed from a number of large clams, which were every where interſperſed. But the appearance of theſe was ſtill inferior to that of the multitude of fiſhes, that glided gently along, ſeemingly with the moſt perfect ſecurity. The colours of the different ſorts were the moſt beautiful that can be imagined; the yellow, blue, red, black, &c. far exceeding any thing that art can produce. Their various forms, alſo, contributed to increaſe the richneſs of this ſubmarine grotto, which could not be ſurveyed without a pleaſing tranſport, mixed, however, with regret, that a work, ſo ſtupendouſly elegant, ſhould be concealed, in a place where mankind could ſeldom have an opportunity of rendering the praiſes juſtly due to ſo enchanting a ſcene. 1777. April.

There were no traces of inhabitants having ever been here; if we except a ſmall piece of a canoe that was found upon the beach; which, probably, may have drifted from ſome other iſland. But, what is pretty extraordinary, we ſaw ſeveral ſmall brown rats on this ſpot; a circumſtance, perhaps, difficult to account for, unleſs we allow that they were imported in the canoe of which we ſaw the remains.

After the boats were laden, I returned on board, leaving Mr. Gore, with a party, to paſs the night on ſhore, in order to be ready to go to work early the next morning.

That day, being the 15th, was accordingly ſpent, as the preceding one had been, in collecting, and bringing on board, food for the cattle, conſiſting chiefly of palm-cabbage, young cocoa-nut trees, and the tender branches of the *wharra* tree. Having got a ſufficient ſupply of theſe, Tueſday 15.

1777. April. by funſet, I ordered every body on board. But having little or no wind, I determined to wait, and to employ the next day, by endeavouring to get ſome cocoa-nuts for our people, from the next iſland to leeward, where we could obſerve that thoſe trees were in much greater abundance, than upon that where we had already landed, and where only the wants of our cattle had been relieved.

Wedneſ. 16. With this view, I kept ſtanding off and on, all night; and, in the morning, between eight and nine o'clock, I went with the boats to the Weſt ſide of the iſland, and landed with little difficulty. I immediately ſet the people with me to work, to gather cocoa-nuts, which we found in great abundance. But to get them to our boats was a tedious operation; for we were obliged to carry them at leaſt half a mile over the reef, up to the middle in water. Omai, who was with me, caught, with a ſcoop net, in a very ſhort time, as much fiſh as ſerved the whole party on ſhore for dinner, beſides ſending ſome to both ſhips. Here were alſo great abundance of birds, particularly men-of-war and Tropic birds; ſo that we fared ſumptuouſly. And it is but doing juſtice to Omai to ſay, that, in theſe excurſions to the uninhabited iſlands, he was of the greateſt uſe. For he not only caught the fiſh, but dreſſed theſe, and the birds we killed, in an oven, with heated ſtones, after the faſhion of his country, with a dexterity and good-humour that did him great credit. The boats made two trips, before night, well laden; with the laſt, I returned on board, leaving Mr. Williamſon, my third Lieutenant, with a party of men, to prepare another lading for the boats which I propoſed to ſend next morning.

Thurſday 17. I, accordingly, diſpatched them at ſeven o'clock, and they returned laden by noon. No time was loſt in ſending them back

back for another cargo; and they carried orders for every body to be on board by ſunſet. This being complied with, we hoiſted in the boats and made ſail to the Weſtward, with a light air of wind from the North. 1777. April.

We found this iſlot near a half larger than the other, and almoſt entirely covered with cocoa-palms; the greateſt part of which abounded with excellent nuts, having, often, both old and young on the ſame tree. They were, indeed, too thick, in many places, to grow with freedom. The other productions were, in general, the ſame as at the firſt iſlot. Two pieces of board, one of which was rudely carved, with an elliptical paddle, were found on the beach. Probably, theſe had belonged to the ſame canoe, the remains of which were ſeen on the other beach, as the two iſlots are not above half a mile apart. A young turtle had alſo been lately thrown aſhore here, as it was ſtill full of maggots. There were fewer crabs than at the laſt place; but we found ſome ſcorpions, a few other inſects, and a greater number of fiſh upon the reefs. Amongſt theſe were ſome large eels, beautifully ſpotted, which, when followed, would raiſe themſelves out of the water, and endeavour, with an open mouth, to bite their purſuers. The other ſorts were, chiefly, parrot-fiſh, ſnappers, and a brown ſpotted rock-fiſh, about the ſize of a haddock, ſo tame, that, inſtead of ſwimming away, it would remain fixed, and gaze at us. Had we been in abſolute want, a ſufficient ſupply might have been had; for thouſands of the clams, already mentioned, ſtuck upon the reef, ſome of which weighed two or three pounds. There were, beſides, ſome other ſorts of ſhell-fiſh; particularly, the large periwinkle. When the tide flowed, ſeveral ſharks came in, over the reef, ſome of which our people killed;

1777. April. but they rendered it rather dangerous to walk in the water at that time.

The party who were left on ſhore with Mr. Williamſon, were a good deal peſtered (as Mr. Gore's had been) with muſquitoes, in the night. Some of them, in their excurſions, ſhot two curlews, exactly like thoſe of England; and ſaw ſome plovers, or ſand-pipers, upon the ſhore; but, in the wood, no other bird, beſides one or two of the cuckoos that were ſeen at Wenooa-ette.

Upon the whole, we did not ſpend our time unprofitably at this laſt iſlot; for we got there about twelve hundred cocoa-nuts, which were equally divided amongſt the whole crew; and were, doubtleſs, of great uſe to them, both on account of the juice and of the kernel. A ſhip, therefore, paſſing this way, if the weather be moderate, may expect to ſucceed as we did. But there is no water upon either of the iſlots where we landed. Were that article to be had, and a paſſage could be got into the lake, as we may call it, ſurrounded by the reef, where a ſhip could anchor, I ſhould prefer this to any of the inhabited iſlands, if the only want were refreſhment. For the quantity of fiſh that might be procured, would be ſufficient; and the people might roam about, unmoleſted by the petulance of any inhabitants.

The nine or ten low iſlots, comprehended under the name of Palmerſton's Iſland, may be reckoned the heads or ſummits of the reef of coral rock, that connects them together, covered only with a thin coat of ſand, yet clothed, as already obſerved, with trees and plants, moſt of which are of the ſame ſorts that are found on the low grounds of the high Iſlands of this ocean.

There

1777. April.

There are different opinions, amongſt ingenious theoriſts, concerning the formation of ſuch low iſlands as Palmerſton's. Some will have it, that, in remote times, theſe little ſeparate heads or iſlots were joined, and formed one continued and more elevated tract of land, which the ſea, in the revolution of ages, has waſhed away, leaving only the higher grounds; which, in time, alſo, will, according to this theory, ſhare the ſame fate. Another conjecture is, that they have been thrown up by earthquakes, and are the effect of internal convulſions of the globe. A third opinion, and which appears to me as the moſt probable one, maintains, that they are formed from ſhoals, or coral banks, and, of conſequence, increaſing. Without mentioning the ſeveral arguments made uſe of in ſupport of each of theſe ſyſtems, I ſhall only deſcribe ſuch parts of Palmerſton's Iſland, as fell under my own obſervation when I landed upon it.

The foundation is, every where, a coral rock; the ſoil is coral ſand, with which the decayed vegetables have, but in a few places, intermixed, ſo as to form any thing like mould. From this, a very ſtrong preſumption may be drawn, that theſe little ſpots of land, are not of very ancient date, nor the remains of larger iſlands now buried in the ocean. For, upon either of theſe ſuppoſitions, more mould muſt have been formed, or ſome part of the original ſoil would have remained. Another circumſtance confirmed this doctrine of the increaſe of theſe iſlots. We found upon them, far beyond the preſent reach of the ſea, even in the moſt violent ſtorms, elevated coral rocks, which, on examination, appeared to have been perforated, in the ſame manner that the rocks are, that now compoſe the outer edge of the reef. This evidently ſhews, that the

ſea

1777. April. sea had formerly reached so far; and some of these perforated rocks were almost in the centre of the land.

But the strongest proof of the increase, and from the cause we have assigned, was the gentle gradation observable in the plants round the skirts of the islands; from within a few inches of high-water mark, to the edge of the wood. In many places, the divisions of the plants, of different growths, were very distinguishable, especially on the lee, or west-side. This, I apprehend, to have been the operation of extraordinary high tides, occasioned by violent, accidental gales from the Westward; which have heaped up the sand beyond the reach of common tides. The regular and gentle operation of these latter, again, throw up sand enough to form a barrier against the next extraordinary high tide, or storm, so as to prevent its reaching as far as the former had done, and destroying the plants that may have begun to vegetate from cocoa-nuts, roots, and seed brought thither by birds, or thrown up by the sea. This, doubtless, happens very frequently; for we found many cocoa-nuts, and some other things, just sprouting up, only a few inches beyond where the sea reaches at present, in places where, it was evident, they could not have had their origin from those, farther in, already arrived at their full growth. At the same time, the increase of vegetables will add fast to the height of this new-created land; as the fallen leaves, and broken branches, are, in such a climate, soon converted into a true black mould, or soil *.

Perhaps

* Mr. Anderson, in his Journal, mentions the following particulars, relative to Palmerston's Island, which strongly confirm Captain Cook's opinion about its formation. "On the last of the two islets, where we landed, the trees, being in

"great

1777. April.

Perhaps there is another cauſe, which, if allowed, will accelerate the increaſe of theſe iſlands as much as any other; and will alſo account for the ſea having receded from thoſe elevated rocks before-mentioned. This is, the ſpreading of the coral bank, or reef, into the ſea; which, in my opinion, is continually, though imperceptibly, affected. The waves receding, as the reef grows in breadth and height, leave a dry rock behind, ready for the reception of the broken coral and ſand, and every other depoſit neceſſary for the formation of land fit for the vegetation of plants.

In this manner, there is little doubt, that, in time, the whole reef will become one iſland; and, I think, it will extend gradually inward, either from the increaſe of the iſlots already formed; or from the formation of new ones, upon the beds of coral, within the incloſed lake, if once they increaſe ſo as to riſe above the level of the ſea.

After leaving Palmerſton's Iſland, I ſteered Weſt, with a view to make the beſt of my way to Annamooka. We ſtill continued to have variable winds, frequently between the North and Weſt, with ſqualls, ſome thunder, and much rain. During theſe ſhowers, which were, generally, very copious, we ſaved a conſiderable quantity of water; and finding that we could get a greater ſupply by the rain, in

" great numbers, had already formed, by their rotten parts, little riſings or eminences, " which, in time, from the ſame cauſe, may become ſmall hills. Whereas, on the firſt " iſlot, the trees being leſs numerous, no ſuch thing had, as yet, happened. Neverthe- " leſs, on that little ſpot, the manner of formation was more plainly pointed out. " For, adjoining to it, was a ſmall iſle, which had, doubtleſs, been very lately formed; " as it was not, as yet, covered with any trees, but had a great many ſhrubs, ſome " of which were growing among pieces of coral that the ſea had thrown up. There " was ſtill a more ſure proof of this method of formation a little farther on, where " two patches of ſand, about fifty yards long, and a foot or eighteen inches high, " lay upon the reef, but not, as yet, furniſhed with a ſingle buſh, or tree."

one

1777. April. one hour, than we could get by diſtillation in a month, I laid aſide the ſtill, as a thing attended with more trouble than profit.

The heat, which had been great for about a month, became now much more diſagreeable in this cloſe rainy weather; and, from the moiſture attending it, threatened ſoon to be noxious; as the ſhips could not be kept dry, nor the ſkuttles open, for the ſea. However, it is remarkable enough, that though the only refreſhment we had received ſince leaving the Cape of Good Hope, was that at New Zealand; there was not, as yet, a ſingle perſon, on board, ſick, from the conſtant uſe of ſalt food, or viciſſitude of climate.

Thurſday 24. Friday 25. Monday 28. In the night between the 24th and 25th we paſſed Savage Iſland, which I had diſcovered in 1774*; and on the 28th, at ten o'clock in the morning, we got ſight of the iſlands which lie to the Eaſtward of Annamooka, bearing North by Weſt, about four or five leagues diſtant. I ſteered to the South of theſe iſlands, and then hauled up for Annamooka; which, at four in the afternoon, bore North Weſt by North, Fallafajeea South Weſt by South, and Komango North by Weſt, diſtant about five miles. The weather being ſqually, with rain, I anchored, at the approach of night, in fifteen fathoms deep water, over a bottom of coral-ſand, and ſhells; Komango bearing North Weſt, about two leagues diſtant.

* For an account of the diſcovery of Savage Iſland; a deſcription of it; and the behaviour of its inhabitants, on Captain Cook's landing, ſee his Voyage, Vol. ii. p. 3. to p. 7.

CHAP.

CHART
of the
FRIENDLY ISLANDS.
TONGATABOO
EOOA
ANNAMOOKA
Kotoo
Kao
Toofoa
Van Diemen Road
English Road
Discovery
Resolution
Tasman

CHAP. IV.

Intercourſe with the Natives of Komango, and other Iſlands. —Arrival at Annamooka.—Tranſactions there.—Feenou, a principal Chief, from Tongataboo, comes on a Viſit. —The Manner of his Reception in the Iſland, and on board.—Inſtances of the pilfering Diſpoſition of the Natives.—Some Account of Annamooka.—The Paſſage from it to Hapaee.

SOON after we had anchored, two canoes, the one with four, and the other with three men, paddled toward us, and came along-ſide without the leaſt heſitation. They brought ſome cocoa-nuts, bread-fruit, plantains, and ſugar-cane, which they bartered with us for nails. One of the men came on board; and when theſe canoes had left us, another viſited us; but did not ſtay long, as night was approaching. Komango, the iſland neareſt to us, was, at leaſt, five miles off; which ſhews the hazard theſe people would run, in order to poſſeſs a few of our moſt trifling articles. Beſides this ſupply from the ſhore, we caught, this evening, with hooks and lines, a conſiderable quantity of fiſh. 1777. April. Monday 28.

Next morning, at four o'clock, I ſent Lieutenant King, with two boats, to Komango, to procure refreſhments; and, at five, made the ſignal to weigh, in order to ply up to Annamooka, the wind being unfavourable at North Weſt. Tueſday 29.

1777. April. It was no ſooner day-light, than we were viſited by ſix or ſeven canoes from different iſlands, bringing with them, beſides fruits and roots, two pigs, ſeveral fowls, ſome large wood-pigeons, ſmall rails, and large violet-coloured coots. All theſe they exchanged with us for beads, nails, hatchets, &c. They had alſo other articles of commerce; ſuch as pieces of their cloth, fiſh-hooks, ſmall baſkets, muſical reeds, and ſome clubs, ſpears, and bows. But I ordered, that no curioſities ſhould be purchaſed, till the ſhips ſhould be ſupplied with proviſions, and leave given for that purpoſe. Knowing, alſo, from experience, that, if all our people might trade with the natives, according to their own caprice, perpetual quarrels would enſue, I ordered that particular perſons ſhould manage the traffic both on board and on ſhore, prohibiting all others to interfere. Before mid-day, Mr. King's boat returned with ſeven hogs, ſome fowls, a quantity of fruit and roots for ourſelves, and ſome graſs for the cattle. His party was very civilly treated at Komango. The inhabitants did not ſeem to be numerous; and their huts, which ſtood cloſe to each other, within a plantain walk, were but indifferent. Not far from them, was a pretty large pond of freſh water, tolerably good; but there was not any appearance of a ſtream. With Mr. King, came on board the Chief of the iſland, named Tooboulangee; and another, whoſe name was Taipa. They brought with them a hog, as a preſent to me, and promiſed more the next day.

As ſoon as the boats were aboard, I ſtood for Annamooka; and the wind being ſcant, I intended to go between Annamooka-ette *, and the breakers to the South Eaſt of it. But,

* That is, Little Annamooka.

on

on drawing near, we met with very irregular ſoundings, varying, every caſt, ten or twelve fathoms. This obliged me to give up the deſign, and to go to the Southward of all; which carried us to leeward, and made it neceſſary to ſpend the night under ſail. It was very dark; and we had the wind, from every direction, accompanied with heavy ſhowers of rain. So that, at day-light the next morning, we found ourſelves much farther off than we had been the evening before; and the little wind that now blew, was right in our teeth. 1777. April. Wedneſ. 30.

We continued to ply, all day, to very little purpoſe; and, in the evening, anchored in thirty-nine fathoms water; the bottom coral rocks, and broken ſhells; the Weſt point of Annamooka bearing Eaſt North Eaſt, four miles diſtant. Tooboulangee and Taipa kept their promiſe, and brought off to me ſome hogs. Several others were alſo procured by bartering, from different canoes that followed us; and as much fruit as we could well manage. It was remarkable, that, during the whole day, our viſiters from the iſlands would hardly part with any of their commodities to any body but me. Captain Clerke did not get above one or two hogs.

At four o'clock next morning, I ordered a boat to be hoiſted out, and ſent the Maſter to ſound the South Weſt ſide of Annamooka; where there appeared to be a harbour, formed by the iſland on the North Eaſt, and by ſmall iſlets, and ſhoals, to the South Weſt and South Eaſt. In the mean time, the ſhips were got under ſail, and wrought up to the iſland. May. Thurſday 1.

When the Maſter returned, he reported, that he had ſounded between Great and Little Annamooka, where he found ten and twelve fathoms depth of water, the bottom coral

1777. May. fand; that the place was very well ſheltered from all winds; but that there was no freſh water to be found, except at ſome diſtance inland; and that, even there, little of it was to be got, and that little not good. For this reaſon only, and it was a very ſufficient one, I determined to anchor on the North ſide of the iſland, where, during my laſt voyage, I had found a place fit both for watering and landing.

It was not above a league diſtant; and yet we did not reach it till five o'clock in the afternoon, being conſiderably retarded by the great number of canoes that continually crowded round the ſhips, bringing to us abundant ſupplies of the produce of their iſland. Amongſt theſe canoes, there were ſome double ones, with a large ſail, that carried between forty and fifty men each. Theſe ſailed round us, apparently, with the ſame eaſe, as if we had been at anchor. There were ſeveral women in the canoes, who were, perhaps, incited by curioſity to viſit us; though, at the ſame time, they bartered as eagerly as the men, and uſed the paddle with equal labour and dexterity. I came to an anchor in eighteen fathoms water, the bottom coarſe coral ſand; the iſland extending from Eaſt to South Weſt; and the Weſt point of the Weſternmoſt cove South Eaſt, about three quarters of a mile diſtant. Thus I reſumed the very ſame ſtation which I had occupied when I viſited Annamooka three years before*; and, probably, almoſt in the ſame place where Taſman, the firſt diſcoverer of this, and ſome of the neighbouring iſlands, anchored in 1643 †.

* See Captain Cook's laſt Voyage, Vol. ii. p. 9.

† See Taſman's account of this iſland, in Mr. Dalrymple's valuable Collection of Voyages to the Pacific Ocean, Vol. ii. p. 79, 80. The few particulars mentioned by Taſman, agree remarkably with Captain Cook's more extended relation.

The

1777. May. Friday 2.

The following day, while preparations were making for watering, I went aſhore, in the forenoon, accompanied by Captain Clerke, and ſome of the Officers, to fix on a place where the obſervatories might be ſet up, and a guard be ſtationed; the natives having readily given us leave. They alſo accommodated us with a boat-houſe, to ſerve as a tent, and ſhewed us every other mark of civility. Toobou, the Chief of the iſland, conducted me and Omai to his houſe. We found it ſituated on a pleaſant ſpot, in the centre of his plantation. A fine graſs-plot ſurrounded it, which, he gave us to underſtand, was for the purpoſe of cleaning their feet, before they went within doors. I had not, before, obſerved ſuch an inſtance of attention to cleanlineſs at any of the places I had viſited in this ocean; but, afterward, found that it was very common at the Friendly Iſlands. The floor of Toobou's houſe was covered with mats; and no carpet, in the moſt elegant Engliſh drawing-room, could be kept neater. While we were on ſhore, we procured a few hogs, and ſome fruit, by bartering; and, before we got on board again, the ſhips were crowded with the natives. Few of them coming empty-handed, every neceſſary refreſhment was now in the greateſt plenty.

I landed again in the afternoon, with a party of marines; and, at the ſame time, the horſes, and ſuch of the cattle as were in a weakly ſtate, were ſent on ſhore. Every thing being ſettled to my ſatisfaction, I returned to the ſhip at ſunſet, leaving the command upon the iſland to Mr. King. Taipa, who was now become our faſt friend, and who ſeemed to be the only active perſon about us, in order to be near our party in the night, as well as the day, had a houſe brought, on men's ſhoulders, a full quarter of a mile, and placed cloſe to the ſhed which our party occupied.

Next

1777. May. Saturday 3. Next day, our various operations on ſhore began. Some were employed in making hay for the cattle; others in filling our water caſks at the neighbouring ſtagnant pool; and a third party in cutting wood. The greateſt plenty of this laſt article being abreaſt of the ſhips, and in a ſituation the moſt convenient for getting it on board, it was natural to make choice of this. But the trees here, which our people erroneouſly ſuppoſed to be manchineel, but were a ſpecies of pepper, called *faitanoo* by the natives, yielded a juice of a milky colour, of ſo corroſive a nature, that it raiſed bliſters on the ſkin, and injured the eyes of our workmen. They were, therefore, obliged to deſiſt at this place, and remove to the cove, in which our guard was ſtationed, and where we embarked our water. Other wood, more ſuitable to our purpoſes, was there furniſhed to us by the natives. Theſe were not the only employments we were engaged in, for Meſſrs. King and Bayly began, this day, to obſerve equal altitudes of the ſun, in order to get the rate of the time-keepers. In the evening, before the natives retired from our poſt, Taipa harangued them for ſome time. We could only gueſs at the ſubject; and judged, that he was inſtructing them how to behave toward us, and encouraging them to bring the produce of the iſland to market. We experienced the good effects of his eloquence, in the plentiful ſupply of proviſions which, next day, we received.

Sunday 4. Monday 5. Nothing worth notice happened on the 4th and 5th, except that, on the former of theſe days, the Diſcovery loſt her ſmall bower anchor, the cable being cut in two by the rocks. This misfortune made it neceſſary to examine the cables of the Reſolution, which were found to be unhurt.

On the 6th, we were viſited by a great Chief from Tongataboo, whoſe name was Feenou, and whom Taipa was pleaſed to introduce to us as King of all the Friendly Iſles. I was now told, that, on my arrival, a canoe had been diſpatched to Tongataboo with the news; in conſequence of which, this Chief immediately paſſed over to Annamooka. The Officer on ſhore informed me, that when he firſt arrived, all the natives were ordered out to meet him, and paid their obeiſance by bowing their heads as low as his feet, the ſoles of which they alſo touched with each hand, firſt with the palm, and then with the back part. There could be little room to ſuſpect that a perſon, received with ſo much reſpect, could be any thing leſs than the King. 1777. May. Tueſday 6.

In the afternoon, I went to pay this great man a viſit, having firſt received a preſent of two fiſh from him, brought on board by one of his ſervants. As ſoon as I landed, he came up to me. He appeared to be about thirty years of age, tall, but thin, and had more of the European features, than any I had yet ſeen here. When the firſt ſalutation was over, I aſked if he was the King. For, notwithſtanding what I had been told, finding he was not the man whom I remembered to have ſeen under that character during my former voyage, I began to entertain doubts. Taipa officiouſly anſwered for him, and enumerated no leſs than one hundred and fifty-three iſlands, of which, he ſaid, Feenou was the Sovereign. After a ſhort ſtay, our new viſiter, and five or ſix of his attendants, accompanied me on board. I gave ſuitable preſents to them all, and entertained them in ſuch a manner, as I thought would be moſt agreeable.

In the evening, I attended them on ſhore in my boat, into which the Chief ordered three hogs to be put, as a return for

1777. May. for the preſents he had received from me. I was now informed of an accident which had juſt happened, the relation of which will convey ſome idea of the extent of the authority exerciſed here over the common people. While Feenou was on board my ſhip, an inferior Chief, for what reaſon our people on ſhore did not know, ordered all the natives to retire from the poſt we occupied. Some of them having ventured to return, he took up a large ſtick, and beat them moſt unmercifully. He ſtruck one man, on the ſide of the face, with ſo much violence, that the blood guſhed out of his mouth and noſtrils; and, after lying ſome time motionleſs, he was, at laſt, removed from the place, in convulſions. The perſon who had inflicted the blow, being told that he had killed the man, only laughed at it; and, it was evident, that he was not in the leaſt ſorry for what had happened. We heard, afterward, that the poor ſufferer recovered.

Wedneſ. 7. The Diſcovery having found again her ſmall bower anchor, ſhifted her birth on the 7th; but not before her beſt bower cable had ſhared the fate of the other. This day, I had the company of Feenou at dinner; and alſo the next

Thurſday 8. day, when he was attended by Taipa, Toobou, and ſome other Chiefs. It was remarkable, that none but Taipa was allowed to ſit at table with him, or even to eat in his preſence. I own that I conſidered Feenou as a very convenient gueſt, on account of this etiquette. For, before his arrival, I had, generally, a larger company than I could well find room for, and my table overflowed with crowds of both ſexes. For it is not the cuſtom at the Friendly Iſlands, as it is at Otaheite, to deny to their females the privilege of eating in company with the men.

The

The firſt day of our arrival at Annamooka, one of the natives had ſtolen, out of the ſhip, a large junk axe. I now applied to Feenou to exert his authority to get it reſtored to me; and ſo implicitly was he obeyed, that it was brought on board while we were at dinner. Theſe people gave us very frequent opportunities of remarking what expert thieves they were. Even ſome of their Chiefs did not think this profeſſion beneath them. On the 9th, one of them was detected carrying out of the ſhip, concealed under his clothes, the bolt belonging to the ſpun yarn winch; for which I ſentenced him to receive a dozen laſhes, and kept him confined till he paid a hog for his liberty. After this, we were not troubled with thieves of rank. Their ſervants, or ſlaves, however, were ſtill employed in this dirty work; and upon them a flogging ſeemed to make no greater impreſſion, than it would have done upon the main-maſt. When any of them happened to be caught in the act, their maſters, far from interceding for them, would often adviſe us to kill them. As this was a puniſhment we did not chooſe to inflict, they generally eſcaped without any puniſhment at all; for they appeared to us to be equally inſenſible of the ſhame, and of the pain of corporal chaſtiſement. Captain Clerke, at laſt, hit upon a mode of treatment, which, we thought, had ſome effect. He put them under the hands of the barber, and completely ſhaved their heads; thus pointing them out as objects of ridicule to their countrymen, and enabling our people to deprive them of future opportunities for a repetition of their rogueries, by keeping them at a diſtance. 1777. May. Friday 9.

Feenou was ſo fond of aſſociating with us, that he dined on board every day; though, ſometimes, he did not partake of our fare. On the 10th, ſome of his ſervants brought a Saturday 10.

1777. May. meſs, which had been dreſſed for him on ſhore. It conſiſted of fiſh, ſoup, and yams. Inſtead of common water to make the ſoup, cocoa-nut liquor had been made uſe of, in which the fiſh had been boiled or ſtewed; probably in a wooden veſſel, with hot ſtones; but it was carried on board in a plantain leaf. I taſted of the meſs, and found it ſo good, that I, afterward, had ſome fiſh dreſſed in the ſame way. Though my cook ſucceeded tolerably well, he could produce nothing equal to the diſh he imitated.

Sunday 11. Finding that we had quite exhauſted the iſland, of almoſt every article of food that it afforded, I employed the 11th in moving off, from the ſhore, the horſes, obſervatories, and other things that we had landed, as alſo the party of marines who had mounted guard at our ſtation, intending to ſail, as ſoon as the Diſcovery ſhould have recovered her beſt bower anchor. Feenou, underſtanding that I meant to proceed directly to Tongataboo, importuned me ſtrongly to alter this plan, to which he expreſſed as much averſion, as if he had ſome particular intereſt to promote by diverting me from it. In preference to it, he warmly recommended an iſland, or rather a group of iſlands, called Hapaee, lying to the North Eaſt. There, he aſſured us, we could be ſupplied plentifully with every refreſhment, in the eaſieſt manner; and, to add weight to his advice, he engaged to attend us thither in perſon. He carried his point with me; and Hapaee was made choice of for our next ſtation. As it had never been viſited by any European ſhips, the examination of it became an object with me.

Monday 12. Tueſday 13. Wedneſ. 14. The 12th, and the 13th, were ſpent in attempting the recovery of Captain Clerke's anchor, which, after much trouble, was happily accompliſhed; and on the 14th, in the morning, we got under ſail, and left Annamooka.

1777. May.

This iſland is ſomewhat higher than the other ſmall iſles that ſurround it; but, ſtill, it cannot be admitted to the rank of thoſe of a moderate height, ſuch as Mangeea and Wateeoo. The ſhore, at that part where our ſhips lay, is compoſed of a ſteep, rugged coral rock, nine or ten feet high, except where there are two ſandy beaches, which have a reef of the ſame ſort of rock extending croſs their entrance to the ſhore, and defending them from the ſea. The ſalt water lake that is in the centre of the iſland, is about a mile and a half broad; and round it, the land riſes like a bank, with a gradual aſcent. But we could not trace its having any communication with the ſea. And yet, the land that runs acroſs to it, from the largeſt ſandy beach, being flat and low, and the ſoil ſandy, it is moſt likely that it may have, formerly, communicated that way. The ſoil, on the riſing parts of the iſland, and eſpecially toward the ſea, is either of a reddiſh clayey diſpoſition, or a black, looſe mould; but there is, no where, any ſtream of freſh water.

The iſland is very well cultivated, except in a few places; and there are ſome others, which, though they appear to lie waſte, are only left to recover the ſtrength exhauſted by conſtant culture; for we frequently ſaw the natives at work upon theſe ſpots, to plant them again. The plantations conſiſt chiefly of yams and plantains. Many of them are very extenſive, and often incloſed with neat fences of reed, diſpoſed obliquely acroſs each other, about ſix feet high. Within theſe, we often ſaw other fences of leſs compaſs, ſurrounding the houſes of the principal people. The bread-fruit, and cocoa-nut trees, are interſperſed with little order; but chiefly near the habitations of the natives; and the other parts of the iſland, eſpecially toward the ſea, and about the ſides of the lake, are covered with trees and buſhes of a moſt luxuriant growth; the laſt place having a

1777. May. great many mangroves, and the firſt a vaſt number of the *faitanoo* trees already mentioned. There ſeem to be no rocks, or ſtones, of any kind, about the iſland, that are not coral; except in one place, to the right of the ſandy beach, where there is a rock twenty or thirty feet high, of a calcareous ſtone, of a yellowiſh colour, and a very cloſe texture. But even about that place, which is the higheſt part of the land, are large pieces of the ſame coral rock that compoſes the ſhore.

Beſides walking frequently up into the country, which we were permitted to do without interruption, we ſometimes amuſed ourſelves in ſhooting wild ducks, not unlike the widgeon, which are very numerous upon the ſalt lake, and the pool where we got our water. In theſe excurſions, we found the inhabitants had often deſerted their houſes to come down to the trading place, without entertaining any ſuſpicion, that ſtrangers, rambling about, would take away, or deſtroy, any thing that belonged to them. But though, from this circumſtance, it might be ſuppoſed that the greater part of the natives were ſometimes collected at the beach, it was impoſſible to form any accurate computation of their number; as the continual reſort of viſiters from other iſlands, mixing with them, might eaſily miſlead one. However, as there was never, to appearance, above a thouſand perſons collected at one time, it would, perhaps, be ſufficient to allow double that number for the whole iſland. The place where ſuch numbers aſſembled daily, and the bay where our boats landed, are faithfully repreſented in a drawing by Mr. Webber.

To the North and North Eaſt of Annamooka, and in the direct track to Hapaee, whither we were now bound, the ſea is ſprinkled with a great number of ſmall iſles. Amidſt the ſhoals and rocks adjoining to this group, I could not be

assured that there was a free or safe passage for such large ships as ours; though the natives sailed through the intervals in their canoes. For this substantial reason, when we weighed anchor from Annamooka, I thought it necessary to go to the Westward of the above islands, and steered North North West, toward Kao * and Toofoa, the two most Westerly islands in sight, and remarkable for their great height. Feenou, and his attendants, remained on board the Resolution till near noon, when he went into the large sailing canoe, which had brought him from Tongataboo, and stood in amongst the cluster of islands above mentioned, of which we were now almost abreast; and a tide or current from the Westward had set us, since our sailing in the morning, much over toward them. 1777. May. Wednes. 14.

They lie scattered, at unequal distances, and are, in general, nearly as high as Annamooka; but only from two or three miles, to half a mile in length, and some of them scarcely so much. They have either steep rocky shores like Annamooka, or reddish cliffs; but some have sandy beaches extending almost their whole length. Most of them are entirely clothed with trees, amongst which are many cocoa palms, and each forms a prospect like a beautiful garden placed in the sea. To heighten this, the serene weather we now had, contributed very much; and the whole might supply the imagination with an idea of some fairy land

* As a proof of the great difficulty of knowing accurately the exact names of the South Sea Islands, as procured from the natives, I observe that what Captain Cook calls *Aghao*, Mr. Anderson calls *Kao*; and Tasman's drawing, as I find it in Mr. Dalrymple's Collection of Voyages, gives the name of *Kaybay* to the same island. Tasman's and Captain Cook's *Amattafoa*, is, with Mr. Anderson, *Tofoa*. Captain Cook's *Komango*, is Tasman's *Amango*. There is scarcely an instance, in which such variations are not observable. Mr. Anderson's great attention to matters of this sort being, as we learn from Captain King, well known to every body on board, and admitted always by Captain Cook himself, his mode of spelling has been adopted on the engraved chart of the Friendly Islands; which has made it necessary to adopt it also, in printing the journal.

realized

1777. May. realized. It ſhould ſeem, that ſome of them, at leaſt, may have been formed, as we ſuppoſed Palmerſton's Iſland to have been; for there is one, which, as yet, is entirely ſand, and another, on which there is only one buſh, or tree.

At four o'clock in the afternoon being the length of Kotoo, the Weſternmoſt of the above cluſter of ſmall iſlands, we ſteered to the North, leaving Toofoa and Kao on our larboard, keeping along the Weſt ſide of a reef of rocks, which lie to the Weſtward of Kotoo, till we came to their Northern extremity, round which we hauled in for the iſland. It was our intention to have anchored for the night; but it came upon us before we could find a place in leſs than fifty-five fathoms water; and rather than come to in this depth, I choſe to ſpend the night under ſail.

We had, in the afternoon, been within two leagues of Toofoa, the ſmoke of which we ſaw ſeveral times in the day. The Friendly Iſlanders have ſome ſuperſtitious notions about the volcano upon it, which they call *Kollofeea*, and ſay it is an *Otooa*, or divinity. According to their account, it ſometimes throws up very large ſtones; and they compare the *crater*, to the ſize of a ſmall iſlot, which has never ceaſed ſmoking in their memory; nor have they any tradition that it ever did. We ſometimes ſaw the ſmoke riſing from the centre of the iſland, while we were at Annamooka, though at the diſtance of at leaſt ten leagues. Toofoa, we were told, is but thinly inhabited, but the water upon it is good.

Thurſday 15. At day-break the next morning, being then not far from Kao, which is a vaſt rock of a conic figure, we ſteered to the Eaſt, for the paſſage between the iſlands Footooha and Hafaiva, with a gentle breeze at South Eaſt. About ten o'clock, Feenou came on board, and remained with us all day.

day. He brought with him two hogs, and a quantity of fruit; and, in the courſe of the day, ſeveral canoes, from the different iſlands round us, came to barter quantities of the latter article, which was very acceptable, as our ſtock was nearly expended. At noon, our latitude was 19° 49′ 45″ South, and we had made ſeven miles of longitude from Annamooka; Toofoa bore North, 88° Weſt; Kao North, 71° Weſt; Footooha North, 89° Weſt; and Hafaiva South, 12° Weſt. 1777. May.

After paſſing Footooha, we met with a reef of rocks; and, as there was but little wind, it coſt us ſome trouble to keep clear of them. This reef lies between Footooha and Neeneeva, which is a ſmall low iſle, in the direction of Eaſt North Eaſt from Footooha, at the diſtance of ſeven or eight miles. Footooha is a ſmall iſland, of middling height, and bounded all round by a ſteep rock. It lies South 67° Eaſt, diſtant ſix leagues from Kao, and three leagues from Kotoo, in the direction of North 33° Eaſt. Being paſt the reef of rocks juſt mentioned, we hauled up for Neeneeva, in hopes of finding anchorage; but were again diſappointed, and obliged to ſpend the night, making ſhort boards. For, although we had land in every direction, the ſea was unfathomable.

In the courſe of this night, we could plainly ſee flames iſſuing from the volcano upon Toofoa, though to no great height.

At day-break in the morning of the 16th, with a gentle breeze at South Eaſt, we ſteered North Eaſt for Hapaee, which was now in ſight; and we could judge it to be low land, from the trees only appearing above the water. About nine o'clock, we could ſee it plainly forming three iſlands, nearly of an equal ſize; and ſoon after, a fourth to the Friday 16.

Southward

1777. May. Southward of theſe, as large as the others. Each ſeemed to be about ſix or ſeven miles long, and of a ſimilar height and appearance. The Northernmoſt of them is called Haanno, the next Foa, the third Lefooga, and the Southernmoſt Hoolaiva; but all four are included, by the natives, under the general name Hapaee.

The wind ſcanting upon us, we could not fetch the land; ſo that we were forced to ply to windward. In doing this, we once paſſed over ſome coral rocks, on which we had only ſix fathoms water; but the moment we were over them, found no ground with eighty fathoms of line. At this time, the iſles of Hapaee bore, from North, 50° Eaſt, to South, 9° Weſt. We got up with the Northernmoſt of theſe iſles by ſunſet; and there found ourſelves in the very ſame diſtreſs, for want of anchorage, that we had experienced the two preceding evenings; ſo that we had another night to ſpend under ſail, with land and breakers in every direction. Toward the evening, Feenou, who had been on board all day, went forward to Hapaee, and took Omai in the canoe with him. He did not forget our diſagreeable ſituation; and kept up a good fire, all night, by way of a land-mark.

Saturday 17. As ſoon as the day-light returned, being then cloſe in with Foa, we ſaw it was joined to Haanno, by a reef running even with the ſurface of the ſea, from the one iſland to the other. I now diſpatched a boat to look for anchorage. A proper place was ſoon found; and we came to, abreaſt of a reef, being that which joins Lefooga to Foa (in the ſame manner that Foa is joined to Haanno), having twenty-four fathoms depth of water; the bottom coral ſand. In this ſtation, the northern point of Hapaee, or the North end of Haanno, bore North, 16° Eaſt. The Southern point of

of Hapaee, or the South end of Hoolaiva, South, 29° Weſt; and the North end of Lefooga, South, 65° Eaſt. Two ledges of rocks lay without us; the one bearing South, 50° Weſt; and the other Weſt by North ½ North, diſtant two or three miles. We lay before a creek in the reef, which made it convenient landing at all times; and we were not above three quarters of a mile from the ſhore. 1777. May.

CHAP. V.

Arrival of the Ships at Hapaee, and friendly Reception there.—Preſents and Solemnities on the Occaſion.—Single Combats with Clubs.—Wreſtling and Boxing Matches.—Female Combatants.—Marines exerciſed.—A Dance performed by Men.—Fireworks exhibited.—The Night-entertainments of ſinging and dancing particularly deſcribed.

1777. May. Saturday 17. BY the time we had anchored, the ſhips were filled with the natives, and ſurrounded by a multitude of canoes, filled alſo with them. They brought, from the ſhore, hogs, fowls, fruit, and roots, which they exchanged for hatchets, knives, nails, beads, and cloth. Feenou and Omai having come on board, after it was light, in order to introduce me to the people of the iſland, I ſoon accompanied them on ſhore, for that purpoſe, landing at the North part of Lefooga, a little to the right of the ſhip's ſtation.

The Chief conducted me to a houſe, or rather a hut, ſituated cloſe to the ſea-beach, which I had ſeen brought thither, but a few minutes before, for our reception. In this Feenou, Omai, and myſelf, were ſeated. The other Chiefs, and the multitude, compoſed a circle, on the outſide, fronting us; and they alſo ſat down. I was then aſked, How long I intended to ſtay? On my ſaying, Five days, Taipa was ordered to come and ſit by me, and proclaim

claim this to the people. He then harangued them, in a ſpeech moſtly dictated by Feenou. The purport of it, as I learnt from Omai, was, that they were all, both old and young, to look upon me as a friend, who intended to remain with them a few days; that, during my ſtay, they muſt not ſteal any thing, nor moleſt me any other way; and that it was expected, they ſhould bring hogs, fowls, fruit, &c. to the ſhips, where they would receive, in exchange for them, ſuch and ſuch things, which he enumerated. Soon after Taipa had finiſhed this addreſs to the aſſembly, Feenou left us. Taipa then took occaſion to ſignify to me, that it was neceſſary I ſhould make a preſent to the Chief of the iſland, whoſe name was Earoupa. I was not unprepared for this; and gave him ſuch articles as far exceeded his expectation. My liberality to him brought upon me demands, of the ſame kind, from two Chiefs of other iſles who were preſent; and from Taipa himſelf. When Feenou returned, which was immediately after I had made the laſt of theſe preſents, he pretended to be angry with Taipa for ſuffering me to give away ſo much; but I looked upon this as a mere fineſſe; being confident that he acted in concert with the others. He now took his ſeat again, and ordered Earoupa to ſit by him, and to harangue the people as Taipa had done, and to the ſame purpoſe; dictating, as before, the heads of the ſpeech. 1777. May.

Theſe ceremonies being performed, the Chief, at my requeſt, conducted me to three ſtagnant pools of freſh water, as he was pleaſed to call it: and, indeed, in one of theſe the water was tolerable, and the ſituation not inconvenient for filling our caſks. After viewing the watering-place, we returned to our former ſtation, where I found a baked hog, and ſome yams, ſmoking hot, ready to be carried on

1777. May. board for my dinner. I invited Feenou, and his friends, to partake of it; and we embarked for the ſhip; but none but himſelf ſat down with us at the table. After dinner I conducted them on ſhore; and, before I returned on board, the Chief gave me a fine large turtle, and a quantity of yams. Our ſupply of proviſions was copious; for, in the courſe of the day, we got, by barter, along-ſide the ſhip, about twenty ſmall hogs, beſide fruit and roots. I was told, that, on my firſt landing in the morning, a man came off to the ſhips, and ordered every one of the natives to go on ſhore. Probably, this was done with a view to have the whole body of inhabitants preſent at the ceremony of my reception; for when that was over, multitudes of them returned again to the ſhips.

Sunday 18. Next morning early, Feenou, and Omai, who ſcarcely ever quitted the Chief, and now ſlept on ſhore, came on board. The object of the viſit, was to require my preſence upon the iſland. After ſome time, I accompanied them; and, upon landing, was conducted to the ſame place where I had been ſeated the day before; and where I ſaw a large concourſe of people already aſſembled. I gueſſed that ſomething more than ordinary was in agitation; but could not tell what, nor could Omai inform me.

I had not been long ſeated, before near a hundred of the natives appeared in ſight, and advanced, laden with yams, bread-fruit, plantains, cocoa-nuts, and ſugar-canes. They depoſited their burdens, in two heaps, or piles, upon our left, being the ſide they came from. Soon after, arrived a number of others from the right, bearing the ſame kind of articles; which were collected into two piles upon that ſide. To theſe were tied two pigs, and ſix fowls; and to thoſe,

thoſe, upon the left, ſix pigs, and two turtles. Earoupa ſeated himſelf before the ſeveral articles upon the left; and another Chief before thoſe upon the right; they being, as I judged, the two Chiefs who had collected them, by order of Feenou, who ſeemed to be as implicitly obeyed here, as he had been at Annamooka; and, in conſequence of his commanding ſuperiority over the Chiefs of Hapaee, had laid this tax upon them for the preſent occaſion. 1777. May.

As ſoon as this munificent collection of proviſions was laid down in order, and diſpoſed to the beſt advantage, the bearers of it joined the multitude, who formed a large circle round the whole. Preſently after, a number of men entered this circle, or area, before us, armed with clubs, made of the green branches of the cocoa-nut tree. Theſe paraded about, for a few minutes, and then retired; the one half to one ſide, and the other half to the other ſide; ſeating themſelves before the ſpectators. Soon after, they ſucceſſively entered the liſts, and entertained us with ſingle combats. One champion, riſing up and ſtepping forward from one ſide, challenged thoſe of the other ſide, by expreſſive geſtures, more than by words, to ſend one of their body to oppoſe him. If the challenge was accepted, which was generally the caſe, the two combatants put themſelves in proper attitudes, and then began the engagement, which continued till one or other owned himſelf conquered, or till their weapons were broken. As ſoon as each combat was over, the victor ſquatted himſelf down facing the Chief, then roſe up, and retired. At the ſame time, ſome old men, who ſeemed to ſit as judges, gave their plaudit in a few words; and the multitude, eſpecially thoſe on the ſide to which the victor belonged, celebrated the glory he had acquired, in two or three huzzas.

This

1777. May. This entertainment was, now and then, ſuſpended for a few minutes. During theſe intervals there were both wreſtling and boxing matches. The firſt were performed in the ſame manner as at Otaheite; and the ſecond differed very little from the method practiſed in England. But what ſtruck us with moſt ſurpriſe, was, to ſee a couple of luſty wenches ſtep forth, and begin boxing, without the leaſt ceremony, and with as much art as the men. This conteſt, however, did not laſt above half a minute, before one of them gave it up. The conquering heroine received the ſame applauſe from the ſpectators, which they beſtowed upon the ſucceſsful combatants of the other ſex. We expreſſed ſome diſlike at this part of the entertainment; which, however, did not prevent two other females from entering the liſts. They ſeemed to be girls of ſpirit, and would certainly have given each other a good drubbing, if two old women had not interpoſed to part them. All theſe combats were exhibited in the midſt of, at leaſt, three thouſand people; and were conducted with the greateſt good humour on all ſides; though ſome of the champions, women as well as men, received blows, which, doubtleſs, they muſt have felt for ſome time after.

As ſoon as theſe diverſions were ended, the Chief told me, that the heaps of proviſions, on our right-hand, were a preſent to Omai; and that thoſe, on our left-hand, being about two-thirds of the whole quantity, were given to me. He added, that I might take them on board whenever it was convenient; but that there would be no occaſion to ſet any of our people as guards over them, as I might be aſſured, that not a ſingle cocoa-nut would be taken away by the natives. So it proved; for I left every thing behind, and returned to the ſhip to dinner, carrying the Chief with me; and

and when the proviſions were removed on board, in the afternoon, not a ſingle article was miſſing. There was as much as loaded four boats; and I could not but be ſtruck with the munificence of Feenou; for this preſent far exceeded any I had ever received from any of the Sovereigns of the various iſlands I had viſited in the Pacific Ocean. I loſt no time in convincing my friend, that I was not inſenſible of his liberality; for, before he quitted my ſhip, I beſtowed upon him ſuch of our commodities, as, I gueſſed, were moſt valuable in his eſtimation. And the return I made was ſo much to his ſatisfaction, that, as ſoon as he got on ſhore, he left me ſtill indebted to him, by ſending me a freſh preſent, conſiſting of two large hogs, a conſiderable quantity of cloth, and ſome yams. 1777. May.

Feenou had expreſſed a deſire to ſee the marines go through their military exerciſe. As I was deſirous to gratify his curioſity, I ordered them all aſhore, from both ſhips, in the morning of the 20th. After they had performed various evolutions, and fired ſeveral vollies, with which the numerous body of ſpectators ſeemed well pleaſed, the Chief entertained us, in his turn, with an exhibition, which, as was acknowledged by us all, was performed with a dexterity and exactneſs, far ſurpaſſing the ſpecimen we had given of our military manœuvres. It was a kind of a dance, ſo entirely different from any thing I had ever ſeen, that, I fear, I can give no deſcription that will convey any tolerable idea of it, to my readers. It was performed by men; and one hundred and five perſons bore their parts in it. Each of them had in his hand an inſtrument neatly made, ſhaped ſomewhat like a paddle, of two feet and a half in length, with a ſmall handle, and a thin blade; ſo that they were very light. With theſe inſtruments they made many and various Tueſday 20.

1777. May. various flouriſhes, each of which was accompanied with a different attitude of the body, or a different movement. At firſt, the performers ranged themſelves in three lines; and, by various evolutions, each man changed his ſtation in ſuch a manner, that thoſe who had been in the rear, came into the front. Nor did they remain long in the ſame poſition; but theſe changes were made by pretty quick tranſitions. At one time, they extended themſelves in one line; they, then, formed into a ſemicircle; and, laſtly, into two ſquare columns. While this laſt movement was executing, one of them advanced, and performed an antic dance before me; with which the whole ended.

The muſical inſtruments conſiſted of two drums, or rather two hollow logs of wood, from which ſome varied notes were produced, by beating on them with two ſticks. It did not, however, appear to me, that the dancers were much aſſiſted or directed by theſe ſounds, but by a chorus of vocal muſic, in which all the performers joined at the ſame time. Their ſong was not deſtitute of pleaſing melody; and all their correſponding motions were executed with ſo much ſkill, that the numerous body of dancers ſeemed to act, as if they were one great machine. It was the opinion of every one of us, that ſuch a performance would have met with univerſal applauſe on a European theatre; and it ſo far exceeded any attempt we had made to entertain them, that they ſeemed to picque themſelves upon the ſuperiority they had over us. As to our muſical inſtruments, they held none of them in the leaſt eſteem, except the drum; and even that they did not think equal to their own. Our French horns, in particular, ſeemed to be held in great contempt; for neither here, nor at any other of the iſlands, would they pay the ſmalleſt attention to them.

In order to give them a more favourable opinion of Engliſh amuſements, and to leave their minds fully impreſſed with the deepeſt ſenſe of our ſuperior attainments, I directed ſome fireworks to be got ready; and, after it was dark, played them off in the preſence of Feenou, the other Chiefs, and a vaſt concourſe of their people. Some of the preparations we found damaged; but others of them were in excellent order, and ſucceeded ſo perfectly, as to anſwer the end I had in view. Our water and ſky-rockets, in particular, pleaſed and aſtoniſhed them beyond all conception; and the ſcale was now turned in our favour. 1777. May.

This, however, ſeemed only to furniſh them with an additional motive to proceed to freſh exertions of their very ſingular dexterity; and our fireworks were no ſooner ended, than a ſucceſſion of dances, which Feenou had got ready for our entertainment, began. As * a prelude to them, a band of muſic, or chorus of eighteen men, ſeated themſelves before us, in the centre of the circle, compoſed by the numerous ſpectators, the area of which was to be the ſcene of the exhibitions. Four or five of this band, had pieces of large bamboo, from three to five or ſix feet long, each managed by one man, who held it nearly in a vertical poſition, the upper end open, but the other end cloſed by one of the joints. With this cloſe end, the performers kept conſtantly ſtriking the ground, though ſlowly, thus producing different notes, according to the different lengths of the inſtruments, but all of them of the hollow or baſe ſort; to counteract which, a perſon kept ſtriking quickly, and with two ſticks, a piece of the ſame ſubſtance, ſplit, and

* Mr. Anderſon's account of the night dances being much fuller than Captain Cook's, the reader will not be diſpleaſed that it has been adopted.

1777. May. laid along the ground, and, by that means, furniſhing a tone as acute, as thoſe produced by the others were grave. The reſt of the band, as well as thoſe who performed upon the bamboos, ſung a ſlow and ſoft air, which ſo tempered the harſher notes of the above inſtruments, that no byeſtander, however accuſtomed to hear the moſt perfect and varied modulation of ſweet ſounds, could avoid confeſſing the vaſt power, and pleaſing effect, of this ſimple harmony.

The concert having continued about a quarter of an hour, twenty women entered the circle. Moſt of them had, upon their heads, garlands of the crimſon flowers of the China roſe, or others; and many of them had ornamented their perſons with leaves of trees, cut with a great deal of nicety about the edges. They made a circle round the chorus, turning their faces toward it, and began by ſinging a ſoft air, to which reſponſes were made by the chorus in the ſame tone; and theſe were repeated alternately. All this while, the women accompanied their ſong with ſeveral very graceful motions of their hands toward their faces, and in other directions at the ſame time, making conſtantly a ſtep forward, and then back again, with one foot, while the other was fixed. They then turned their faces to the aſſembly, ſung ſome time, and retreated ſlowly in a body, to that part of the circle which was oppoſite the hut where the principal ſpectators ſat. After this, one of them advanced from each ſide, meeting and paſſing each other in the front, and continuing their progreſs round, till they came to the reſt. On which, two advanced from each ſide, two of whom alſo paſſed each other, and returned as the former; but the other two remained, and to theſe came one, from each ſide,

ſide, by intervals, till the whole number had again formed a circle about the chorus. 1777. May.

Their manner of dancing was now changed to a quicker meaſure, in which they made a kind of half turn by leaping, and clapped their hands, and ſnapped their fingers, repeating ſome words in conjunction with the chorus. Toward the end, as the quickneſs of the muſic increaſed, their geſtures and attitudes were varied with wonderful vigour and dexterity; and ſome of their motions, perhaps, would, with us, be reckoned rather indecent. Though this part of the performance, moſt probably, was not meant to convey any wanton ideas, but merely to diſplay the aſtoniſhing variety of their movements.

To this grand female ballet, ſucceeded one performed by fifteen men. Some of them were old; but their age ſeemed to have abated little of their agility or ardour for the dance. They were diſpoſed in a ſort of circle, divided at the front, with their faces not turned out toward the aſſembly, nor inward to the chorus; but one half of their circle faced forward as they had advanced, and the other half in a contrary direction. They, ſometimes, ſung ſlowly, in concert with the chorus; and, while thus employed, they alſo made ſeveral very fine motions with their hands, but different from thoſe made by the women, at the ſame time inclining the body to either ſide alternately, by raiſing one leg, which was ſtretched outward, and reſting on the other; the arm of the ſame ſide being alſo ſtretched fully upward. At other times, they recited ſentences in a muſical tone, which were anſwered by the chorus; and, at intervals, increaſed the meaſure of the dance, by clapping the hands, and quickening the motions of the feet, which, however, were never varied. At the end, the rapidity of the muſic, and of the

1777. May. dancing, increaſed ſo much, that it was ſcarcely poſſible to diſtinguiſh the different movements; though one might ſuppoſe the actors were now almoſt tired, as their performance had laſted near half an hour.

After a conſiderable interval, another act, as we may call it, began. Twelve men now advanced, who placed themſelves in double rows fronting each other, but on oppoſite ſides of the circle; and, on one ſide, a man was ſtationed, who, as if he had been a prompter, repeated ſeveral ſentences, to which the twelve new performers, and the chorus, replied. They then ſung ſlowly; and afterward danced and ſung more quickly, for about a quarter of an hour, after the manner of the dancers whom they had ſucceeded.

Soon after they had finiſhed, nine women exhibited themſelves, and ſat down fronting the hut where the Chief was. A man then roſe, and ſtruck the firſt of theſe women on the back, with both fiſts joined. He proceeded, in the ſame manner, to the ſecond and third; but when he came to the fourth, whether from accident or deſign I cannot tell, inſtead of the back, he ſtruck her on the breaſt. Upon this, a perſon roſe inſtantly from the crowd, who brought him to the ground with a blow on the head; and he was carried off without the leaſt noiſe or diſorder. But this did not ſave the other five women from ſo odd a diſcipline, or perhaps neceſſary ceremony; for a perſon ſucceeded him, who treated them in the ſame manner. Their diſgrace did not end here; for when they danced, they had the mortification to find their performance twice diſapproved of, and were obliged to repeat it. This dance did not differ much from that of the firſt women, except in this one circumſtance, that the preſent ſet, ſometimes raiſed the body upon one leg,

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by a ſort of double motion, and then upon the other alternately, in which attitude they kept ſnapping their fingers; and, at the end, they repeated, with great agility, the briſk movements, in which the former group of female dancers had ſhewn themſelves ſo expert. 1777. May.

In a little time, a perſon entered unexpectedly, and ſaid ſomething in a ludicrous way, about the fireworks that had been exhibited, which extorted a burſt of laughter from the multitude. After this, we had a dance compoſed of the men who attended, or had followed, Feenou. They formed a double circle (*i. e.* one within another) of twenty-four each, round the chorus, and began a gentle ſoothing ſong, with correſponding motions of the hands and head. This laſted a conſiderable time, and then changed to a much quicker meaſure, during which they repeated ſentences, either in conjunction with the chorus, or in anſwer to ſome ſpoken by that band. They then retreated to the back part of the circle, as the women had done, and again advanced, on each ſide, in a triple row, till they formed a ſemicircle, which was done very ſlowly, by inclining the body on one leg, and advancing the other a little way, as they put it down. They accompanied this, with ſuch a ſoft air as they had ſung at the beginning; but ſoon changed it to repeat ſentences in a harſher tone, at the ſame time quickening the dance very much, till they finiſhed with a general ſhout and clap of the hands. The ſame was repeated ſeveral times; but, at laſt, they formed a double circle, as at the beginning, danced, and repeated very quickly, and finally cloſed with ſeveral very dexterous tranſpoſitions of the two circles.

The entertainments of this memorable night concluded with a dance, in which the principal people preſent exhibited,

1777. May. exhibited. It reſembled the immediately preceding one, in ſome reſpects, having the ſame number of performers, who began nearly in the ſame way; but their ending, at each interval, was different. For they increaſed their motions to a prodigious quickneſs, ſhaking their heads from ſhoulder to ſhoulder, with ſuch force, that a ſpectator, unaccuſtomed to the ſight, would ſuppoſe, that they ran a riſk of diſlocating their necks. This was attended with a ſmart clapping of the hands, and a kind of ſavage holla! or ſhriek, not unlike what is ſometimes practiſed in the comic dances on our European theatres. They formed the triple ſemicircle, as the preceding dancers had done; and a perſon, who advanced at the head on one ſide of the ſemicircle, began by repeating ſomething in a truly muſical recitative, which was delivered with an air ſo graceful, as might put to the bluſh our moſt applauded performers. He was anſwered in the ſame manner, by the perſon at the head of the oppoſite party. This being repeated ſeveral times, the whole body, on one ſide, joined in the reſponſes to the whole correſponding body on the oppoſite ſide, as the ſemicircle advanced to the front; and they finiſhed, by ſinging and dancing as they had begun.

Theſe two laſt dances were performed with ſo much ſpirit, and ſo great exactneſs, that they met with univerſal approbation. The native ſpectators, who, no doubt, were perfect judges whether the ſeveral performances were properly executed, could not withhold their applauſes at ſome particular parts; and even a ſtranger, who never ſaw the diverſion before, felt ſimilar ſatisfaction, at the ſame inſtant. For though, through the whole, the moſt ſtrict concert was obſerved, ſome of the geſtures were ſo expreſſive, that it might be ſaid, they ſpoke the language that accompanied them; if we allow that there is any connection be-

tween

tween motion and ſound. At the ſame time, it ſhould be obſerved, that though the muſic of the chorus, and that of the dancers, correſponded, conſtant practice in theſe favourite amuſements of our friends, ſeems to have a great ſhare in effecting the exact time they keep in their performances. For we obſerved, that if any of them happened accidentally to be interrupted, they never found the ſmalleſt difficulty in recovering the proper place of the dance or ſong. And their perfect diſcipline was, in no inſtance, more remarkable, than in the ſudden tranſitions they ſo dexterouſly made from the ruder exertions, and harſh ſounds, to the ſofteſt airs, and gentleſt movements*. 1777. May.

The place where the dances were performed, was an open ſpace amongſt the trees, juſt by the ſea, with lights, at ſmall intervals, placed round the inſide of the circle. The concourſe of people was pretty large, though not equal to the number aſſembled in the forenoon, when the marines exerciſed. At that time, ſome of our gentlemen gueſſed there might be preſent about five thouſand perſons; others thought there were more; but they who reckoned that there were fewer, probably, came nearer to the truth.

* In a former note, at p. 188. it was obſerved, that the ſongs and dances of the Caroline Iſlanders, in the North Pacific, bear a great reſemblance to thoſe of the inhabitants of Wateeoo. The remark may be now extended to thoſe of the Friendly Iſlanders, deſcribed at large in this chapter. That the reader may judge for himſelf, I have ſelected the following particulars from Father Cantova's account. "Pendant la "nuit, au clair de la lune, ils s'aſſemblent, de temps en temps, pour chanter & danſer "devant la maiſon de leur *Tamole*. Leurs danſes ſe font au ſon de la voix, car ils "n'ont point d'inſtrument de muſique. La beauté de la danſe, conſiſte dans l'exacte "uniformité des mouvemens du corps. Les hommes, ſeparés des femmes, ſe poſtent "vis-à-vis les uns des autres; après quoi, ils remuent la tête, les bras, les mains, les "pieds, en cadence.—Leur tête eſt couverte de plumes, ou de fleurs;—et l'on voit, at"tachées à leurs oreilles, des feuilles de palmier tiſſues avec aſſez d'art.—Les femmes, "de leur coté,—ſe regardant les unes les autres, commencent un chant pathétique & "langoureux, accompagnant le ſon de leur voix du mouvement cadencé de la tête & "des bras." *Lettres Edifiantes & Curieuſes*, Tom. xv. p. 314, 315.

CHAP.

CHAP. VI.

Deſcription of Lefooga.—Its cultivated State.—Its Extent.—Tranſactions there.—A Female Oculiſt.—Singular Expedients for ſhaving off the Hair.—The Ships change their Station.—A remarkable Mount and Stone.—Deſcription of Hoolaiva.—Account of Poulaho, King of the Friendly Iſlands.—Reſpectful Manner in which he is treated by his People.—Departure from the Hapaee Iſlands.—Some Account of Kotoo.—Return of the Ships to Annamooka.—Poulaho and Feenou meet.—Arrival at Tongataboo.

1777. May. CURIOSITY, on both ſides, being now ſufficiently gratified, by the exhibition of the various entertainments I have deſcribed, I began to have time to look about
Wedneſ. 21. me. Accordingly, next day, I took a walk into the iſland of Lefooga, of which I was deſirous to obtain ſome knowledge. I found it to be, in ſeveral reſpects, ſuperior to Annamooka. The plantations were both more numerous, and more extenſive. In many places, indeed, toward the ſea, eſpecially on the Eaſt ſide, the country is ſtill waſte; owing, perhaps, to the ſandy ſoil; as it is much lower than Annamooka, and its ſurrounding iſles. But, toward the middle of the iſland, the ſoil is better; and the marks of conſiderable population, and of improved cultivation, were very conſpicuous. For we met here with very large plantations,

inclofed in fuch a manner, that the fences running parallel to each other, form fine fpacious public roads, that would appear ornamental in countries where rural conveniences have been carried to the greateft perfection. We obferved large fpots covered with the paper mulberry-trees; and the plantations, in general, were well ftocked with fuch roots and fruits as are the natural produce of the ifland. To thefe I made fome addition, by fowing the feeds of Indian corn, melons, pumpkins, and the like. At one place was a houfe, four or five times as large as thofe of the common fort, with a large area of grafs before it; and, I take it for granted, the people refort thither on certain public occafions. Near the landing-place, we faw a mount, two or three feet high, covered with gravel; and on it ftood four or five fmall huts, in which, the natives told us, the bodies of fome of their principal people had been interred. 1777. May.

The ifland is not above feven miles long; and, in fome places, not above two or three broad. The Eaft fide of it, which is expofed to the trade-wind, has a reef, running to a confiderable breadth from it, on which the fea breaks with great violence. It is a continuation of this reef that joins Lefooga to Foa, which is not above half a mile diftant; and, at low water, the natives can walk upon this reef, which is then partly dry, from the one ifland to the other. The fhore itfelf is either a coral rock, fix or feven feet high, or a fandy beach; but higher than the Weft fide; which, in general, is not more than three or four feet from the level of the fea, with a fandy beach its whole length.

When I returned from my excurfion into the country, and went on board to dinner, I found a large failing canoe faft to the fhip's ftern. In this canoe was Latooliboula, whom

1777. May. I had ſeen at Tongataboo, during my laſt voyage; and who was then ſuppoſed by us to be the King of that iſland. He ſat in the canoe, with all that gravity, by which, as I have mentioned in my Journal *, he was ſo remarkably diſtinguiſhed at that time; nor could I, by any intreaties, prevail upon him now to come into the ſhip. Many of the iſlanders were preſent; and they all called him *Areekee*, which ſignifies King. I had never heard any one of them give this title to Feenou, however extenſive his authority over them, both here, and at Annamooka, had appeared to be; which had, all along, inclined me to ſuſpect, that he was not the King; though his friend Taipa had taken pains to make me believe he was. Latooliboula remained under the ſtern till the evening, when he retired in his canoe to one of the iſlands. Feenou was on board my ſhip at the ſame time; but neither of theſe great men took the leaſt notice of the other.

Thurſday 22. Nothing material happened the next day, except that ſome of the natives ſtole a tarpaulin, and other things, from off the deck. They were ſoon miſſed, and the thieves purſued;

* See *Captain Cook's Voyage*, Vol. i. p. 206, 207. The name of this extraordinary perſonage is there ſaid to be *Kohagee-too Fallangou*; which cannot, by the moſt ſkilful etymologiſt, be tortured into the leaſt moſt diſtant reſemblance of *Latooliboula*. It is remarkable, that Captain Cook ſhould not take any notice of his having called the ſame perſon by two names ſo very different. Perhaps we may account for this by ſuppoſing one to be the name of the perſon, and the other the deſcription of his title or rank. This ſuppoſition ſeems well founded, when we conſider, that *Latoo*, in the language of theſe people, is ſometimes uſed to ſignify a Great Chief; and Dr. Foſter, in his *Obſervations*, p. 378, 379. and elſewhere, ſpeaks of the ſovereign of Tongataboo, under the title of their *Latoo*. This very perſon is called, by Dr. Foſter, p. 370. *Latoo-Nipoorroo*; which furniſhes a very ſtriking inſtance of the variations of our people in writing down the ſame word as pronounced by the natives. However, we can eaſily trace the affinity between *Nipoorroo* and *Liboula*, as the changes of the conſonants are ſuch as are perpetually made, upon hearing a word pronounced, to which our ears have not been accuſtomed. Mr. Anderſon here agrees with Captain Cook in writing Latooliboula.

but

but a little too late. I applied, therefore, to Feenou, who, if he was not king, was at leaſt veſted with the higheſt authority here, to exert it, in order to have my things reſtored. He referred me to Earoupa; who put me off, from time to time; and, at laſt, nothing was done. 1777. May.

In the morning of the 23d, as we were going to unmoor, in order to leave the iſland, Feenou, and his prime-miniſter Taipa, came along-ſide in a ſailing canoe, and informed me, that they were ſetting out for Vavaoo, an iſland, which, they ſaid, lies about two days ſail to the Northward of Hapaee. The object of their voyage, they would have me believe, was to get for me an additional ſupply of hogs, and ſome red-feathered caps for Omai, to carry to Otaheite, where they are in high eſteem. Feenou aſſured me, that he ſhould be back in four or five days; and deſired me not to ſail till his return, when, he promiſed, he would accompany me to Tongataboo. I thought this a good opportunity to get ſome knowledge of Vavaoo, and propoſed to him to go thither with the ſhips. But he ſeemed not to approve of the plan; and, by way of diverting me from it, told me, that there was neither harbour, nor anchorage about it. I, therefore, conſented to wait, in my preſent ſtation, for his return; and he immediately ſet out. Friday 23.

The next day, our attention was, for ſome time, taken up with a report, induſtriouſly ſpread about by ſome of the natives, that a ſhip, like ours, had arrived at Annamooka ſince we left it; and was now at anchor there. The propagators of the report were pleaſed to add, that Toobou, the Chief of that iſland, was haſtening thither to receive theſe new-comers; and as we knew that he had actually left us, we were the more ready to believe there might be Saturday 24.

1777. May. ſome foundation for the ſtory of this unexpected arrival. However, to gain ſome farther information, I went on ſhore with Omai, in queſt of the man who, it was ſaid, had brought the firſt account of this event from Annamooka. We found him at the houſe of Earoupa; where Omai put ſuch queſtions to him as I thought neceſſary; and the anſwers he gave, were ſo clear and ſatisfactory, that I had not a doubt remaining. But, juſt about this time, a Chief, of ſome note, whom we well knew, arrived from Annamooka; and declared, that no ſhip was, at that iſland, nor had been, ſince our leaving it. The propagator of the report, finding himſelf detected in a falſehood, inſtantly withdrew, and we ſaw no more of him. What end the invention of this tale could anſwer, was not eaſy to conjecture; unleſs we ſuppoſe it to have been artfully contrived, to get us removed from the one iſland to the other.

Sunday 25. In my walk, on the 25th, I happened to ſtep into a houſe, where a woman was dreſſing the eyes of a young child, who ſeemed blind; the eyes being much inflamed, and a thin film ſpread over them. The inſtruments ſhe uſed were two ſlender wooden probes, with which ſhe had bruſhed the eyes ſo as to make them bleed. It ſeems worth mentioning, that the natives of theſe iſlands ſhould attempt an operation of this ſort; though I entered the houſe too late, to deſcribe exactly how this female oculiſt employed the wretched tools ſhe had to work with.

I was fortunate enough to ſee a different operation going on in the ſame houſe, of which I can give a tolerable account. I found there another woman ſhaving a child's head, with a ſhark's tooth, ſtuck into the end of a piece of ſtick. I obſerved, that ſhe firſt wet the hair with a rag dipped

dipped in water, applying her inſtrument to that part which ſhe had previouſly ſoaked. The operation ſeemed to give no pain to the child; although the hair was taken off as cloſe as if one of our razors had been employed. Encouraged by what I now ſaw, I, ſoon after, tried one of theſe ſingular inſtruments upon myſelf, and found it to be an excellent *ſuccedaneum*. However, the men of theſe iſlands have recourſe to another contrivance when they ſhave their beards. The operation is performed with two ſhells; one of which they place under a ſmall part of the beard, and with the other, applied above, they ſcrape that part off. In this manner they are able to ſhave very cloſe. The proceſs is, indeed, rather tedious, but not painful; and there are men amongſt them who ſeem to profeſs this trade. It was as common, while we were here, to ſee our ſailors go aſhore to have their beards ſcraped off, after the faſhion of Hapaee, as it was to ſee their Chiefs come on board to be ſhaved by our barbers. 1777. May.

Finding that little or nothing of the produce of the iſland was now brought to the ſhips, I reſolved to change our ſtation, and to wait Feenou's return from Vavaoo, in ſome other convenient anchoring-place, where refreſhments might ſtill be met with. Accordingly, in the forenoon of the 26th, we got under ſail, and ſtood to the Southward along the reef of the iſland; having fourteen and thirteen fathoms water, with a ſandy bottom. However, we met with ſeveral detached ſhoals. Some of them were diſcovered by breakers; ſome, by the water upon them appearing diſcoloured; and others, by the lead. At half paſt two in the afternoon, having already paſſed ſeveral of theſe ſhoals, and ſeeing more of them before us, I hauled into a bay, that lies between the South end of Lefooga, and the North end of Hoolaiva, Monday 26.

1777. May. laiva, and there anchored in ſeventeen fathoms water; the bottom a coral-ſand; the point of Lefooga bearing South Eaſt by Eaſt, a mile and a half diſtant. The Diſcovery did not get to an anchor till ſunſet. She had touched upon one of the ſhoals; but backed off again, without receiving any damage.

As ſoon as we had anchored, I ſent Mr. Bligh to ſound the bay where we were now ſtationed; and myſelf, accompanied by Mr. Gore, landed on the Southern part of Lefooga, to examine the country, and to look for freſh water. Not that we now wanted a ſupply of this article, having filled all the caſks at our late ſtation; but I had been told, that this part of the iſland could afford us ſome, preferable to any we had got at the former watering-place. This will not be the only time I ſhall have occaſion to remark, that theſe people do not know what good water is. We were conducted to two wells; but the water in both of them proved to be execrable; and the natives, our guides, aſſured us that they had none better.

Near the South end of the iſland, and on the Weſt ſide, we met with an artificial mount. From the ſize of ſome trees that were growing upon it, and from other appearances, I gueſſed that it had been raiſed in remote times. I judged it to be about forty feet high; and the diameter of its ſummit meaſured fifty feet. At the bottom of this mount, ſtood a ſtone, which muſt have been hewn out of coral rock. It was four feet broad, two and a half thick, and fourteen high; and we were told by the natives preſent, that not above half its length appeared above ground. They called it *Tangata Arekee* *; and ſaid, that it had been ſet up, and the

* *Tangata*, in their language, is man; *Arekee*, king.

mount

mount raiſed, by ſome of their forefathers, in memory of one of their kings; but how long ſince, they could not tell. 1777. May.

Night coming on, Mr. Gore and I returned on board; and, at the ſame time, Mr. Bligh got back from ſounding the bay, in which he found from fourteen to twenty fathoms water; the bottom, for the moſt part, ſand, but not without ſome coral rocks. The place where we now anchored is much better ſheltered than that which we had lately come from; but between the two is another anchoring ſtation, much better than either. Lefooga and Hoolaiva are divided from each other by a reef of coral rocks, which is dry at low water; ſo that one may walk, at that time, from the one to the other, without wetting a foot. Some of our Gentlemen, who landed in the latter iſland, did not find the leaſt mark of cultivation, or habitation, upon it; except a ſingle hut, the reſidence of a man employed to catch fiſh and turtle. It is rather extraordinary, that it ſhould be in this deſerted ſtate, communicating ſo immediately with Lefooga, which is ſo perfectly cultivated. For, though the ſoil is quite ſandy, all the trees and plants found, in a natural ſtate, on the neighbouring iſlands, are produced here with the greateſt vigour. The Eaſt ſide of it has a reef like Lefooga; and the Weſt ſide has a bending, at the North part, where there ſeems to be good anchorage. Uninhabited as Hoolaiva is, an artificial mount, like that at the adjoining iſland, has been raiſed upon it, as high as ſome of the ſurrounding trees.

At day-break, next morning, I made the ſignal to weigh; and, as I intended to attempt a paſſage to Annamooka, in my way to Tongataboo, by the South Weſt, amongſt the intervening iſlands, I ſent the Maſter in a boat to found before the ſhips. But before we could get under Tueſday 27.

1777. May. ſail, the wind became unſettled; which made it unſafe to attempt a paſſage this way, till we were better acquainted with it. I, therefore, lay faſt, and made the ſignal for the Maſter to return; and afterward ſent him and the Maſter of the Diſcovery, each in a boat, with inſtructions to examine the channels, as far as they could, allowing themſelves time to get back to the ſhips before the cloſe of the day.

About noon, a large ſailing canoe came under our ſtern, in which was a perſon named Futtafaihe, or Poulaho, or both; who, as the natives then on board told us, was King of Tongataboo, and of all the neighbouring iſlands that we had ſeen or heard of. It was a matter of ſurprize to me, to have a ſtranger introduced under this character, which I had ſo much reaſon to believe really belonged to another. But they perſiſted in their account of the ſupreme dignity of this new viſiter; and now, for the firſt time, they owned to me, that Feenou was not the King, but only a ſubordinate Chief, though of great power; as he was often ſent from Tongataboo to the other iſlands, on warlike expeditions, or to decide differences. It being my intereſt, as well as my inclination, to pay court to all the great men, without making inquiry into the validity of their aſſumed titles, I invited Poulaho on board; as I underſtood he was very deſirous to come. He could not be an unwelcome gueſt; for he brought with him, as a preſent to me, two good fat hogs; though not ſo fat as himſelf. If weight of body could give weight in rank or power, he was certainly the moſt eminent man in that reſpect, we had ſeen; for, though not very tall, he was very unwieldy, and almoſt ſhapeleſs with corpulence. He ſeemed to be about forty years of age, had ſtraight hair, and his features differed a

good deal from thoſe of the bulk of his people. I found him to be a ſedate, ſenſible man. He viewed the ſhip, and the ſeveral new objects, with uncommon attention; and aſked many pertinent queſtions; one of which was, What could induce us to viſit theſe iſlands? After he had ſatisfied his curioſity in looking at the cattle, and other novelties which he met with upon deck, I deſired him to walk down into the cabin. To this, ſome of his attendants objected, ſaying, that, if he were to accept of that invitation, it muſt happen, that people would walk over his head; which could not be permitted. I directed my interpreter Omai, to tell them, that I would obviate their objection, by giving orders, that no one ſhould preſume to walk upon that part of the deck which was over the cabin. Whether this expedient would have ſatisfied them, was far from appearing; but the Chief himſelf, leſs ſcrupulous, in this reſpect, than his attendants, waved all ceremony, and walked down without any ſtipulation. He now appeared to be as ſolicitous himſelf, as his people were, to convince us that he was king, and not Feenou, who had paſſed with us as ſuch. For he ſoon perceived, that we had ſome doubts about it; which doubts Omai was not very deſirous of removing. The cloſeſt connection had been formed between him and Feenou, in teſtimony of which, they had exchanged names; and, therefore, he was not a little chagrined, that another perſon now put in his claim to the honours which his friend had hitherto enjoyed. 1777. May.

Poulaho ſat down with us to dinner; but he eat little, and drank leſs. When we roſe from the table, he deſired me to accompany him aſhore. Omai was aſked to be of the party; but he was too faithfully attached to Feenou, to ſhew any attention to his competitor; and, therefore, excuſed himſelf.

1777. May. ſelf. I attended the Chief in my own boat, having firſt made preſents to him, of ſuch articles as, I could obſerve, he valued much, and were even beyond his expectation to receive. I was not diſappointed in my view of thus ſecuring his friendſhip; for the moment the boat reached the beach, and, before he quitted her, he ordered two more hogs to be brought, and delivered to my people to be conveyed on board. He was then carried out of the boat, by ſome of his own people, upon a board reſembling a hand-barrow, and went and ſeated himſelf in a ſmall houſe near the ſhore; which ſeemed to have been erected there for his accommodation. He placed me at his ſide; and his attendants, who were not numerous, ſeated themſelves in a ſemicircle before us, on the outſide of the houſe. Behind the Chief, or rather on one ſide, ſat an old woman, with a ſort of fan in her hand, whoſe office it was to prevent his being peſtered with the flies.

The ſeveral articles which his people had got, by trading on board the ſhips, were now diſplayed before him. He looked over them all, with attention, inquired what they had given in exchange, and ſeemed pleaſed with the bargains they had made. At length, he ordered every thing to be reſtored to the reſpective owners, except a glaſs bowl, with which he was ſo much pleaſed, that he reſerved it for himſelf. The perſons who brought theſe things to him, firſt ſquatted themſelves down before him, then they depoſited their ſeveral purchaſes, and immediately roſe up and retired. The ſame reſpectful ceremony was obſerved in taking them away; and not one of them preſumed to ſpeak to him ſtanding. I ſtayed till ſeveral of his attendants left him, firſt paying him obeiſance, by bowing the head down to the ſole of his foot, and touching or tapping the ſame,

with the upper and under ſide of the fingers of both hands. Others, who were not in the circle, came, as it ſeemed, on purpoſe, and paid him this mark of reſpect, and then retired, without ſpeaking a word. I was quite charmed with the decorum that was obſerved. I had, no where, ſeen the like, not even amongſt more civilized nations. 1777. May.

I found the maſter returned from his expedition, when I got on board. He informed me, that, as far as he had proceeded, there was anchorage, and a paſſage for the ſhips; but that, toward the South and South Eaſt, he ſaw a number of ſmall iſles, ſhoals, and breakers. Judging, from this report, that my attempting a paſſage that way would be attended with ſome riſk, I now dropped all thoughts of it; thinking it better to return toward Annamooka by the ſame route, which we had ſo lately experienced to be a ſafe one.

Having come to this reſolution, I ſhould have ſailed next morning, if the wind had not been too far Southerly, and, at the ſame time, very unſettled. Poulaho, the king, as I ſhall now call him, came on board betimes; and brought, as a preſent to me, one of their caps, made, or, at leaſt, covered, with red feathers. Theſe caps were much ſought after by us; for we knew they would be highly valued at Otaheite. But, though very large prices were offered, not one was ever brought for ſale; which ſhewed, that they were no leſs valuable in the eſtimation of the people here; nor was there a perſon in either ſhip, that could make himſelf the proprietor of one, except myſelf, Captain Clerke, and Omai. Theſe caps, or rather bonnets, are compoſed of the tail feathers of the Tropic bird, with the red feathers of the parroquets wrought upon them, or jointly with them. They are Wedneſ. 28.

1777. May. made ſo as to tie upon the forehead without any crown, and have the form of a ſemicircle, whoſe *radius* is eighteen or twenty inches. But a drawing which Mr. Webber has made of Poulaho, dreſſed in one of theſe bonnets, will convey the beſt idea of them. The Chief ſtayed on board till the evening, when he left us; but his brother, whoſe name was alſo Futtafaihe, and one or two, or more, of his attendants, continued in the ſhip all night.

Thurſday 29. At day-break, the next morning, I weighed with a fine breeze, at Eaſt North Eaſt, and ſtood to the Weſtward, with a view to return to Annamooka, by the track we had already experienced. We were followed by ſeveral ſailing canoes, in one of which was the king. As ſoon as he got on board the Reſolution, he inquired for his brother, and the others who had remained with us all night. It now appeared, that they had ſtayed without his leave; for he gave them, in a very few words, ſuch a reprimand as brought tears from their eyes; and yet they were men not leſs than thirty years of age. He was, however, ſoon reconciled to their making a longer ſtay; for, on quitting us, he left his brother, and five of his attendants, on board. We had alſo the company of a Chief, juſt then arrived from Tongataboo, whoſe name was Toobouceitoa. The moment he arrived, he ſent his canoe away, and declared, that he and five more, who came with him, would ſleep on board; ſo that I had now my cabin filled with viſiters. This, indeed, was ſome inconvenience; but I bore with it more willingly, as they brought plenty of proviſions with them, as preſents to me; for which they always had ſuitable returns.

About

About one o'clock in the afternoon, the Eaſterly wind was ſucceeded by a freſh breeze at South South Eaſt. Our courſe, now being South South Weſt, or more Southerly, we were obliged to ply to windward, and did but juſt fetch the North Side of Footooha by eight o'clock, where we ſpent the night, making ſhort boards. 1777. May.

The next morning, we plyed up to Lofanga, where, according to the information of our friends, there was anchorage. It was one o'clock, in the afternoon, before we got ſoundings, under the lee or North Weſt ſide, in forty fathoms water, near half a mile from the ſhore; but the bank was ſteep, and the bottom rocky, and a chain of breakers lay to leeward. All theſe circumſtances being againſt us, I ſtretched away for Kotoo, with the expectation of finding better anchoring ground under that iſland. But ſo much time had been ſpent in plying up to Lofanga, that it was dark before we reached the other; and, finding no place to anchor in, the night was ſpent as the preceding one.

At day-break, on the 31ſt, I ſtood for the channel which is between Kotoo, and the reef of rocks that lie to the Weſtward of it; but, on drawing near, I found the wind too ſcant to lead us through. I, therefore, bore up on the outſide of the reef, and ſtretched to the South Weſt, till near noon, when, perceiving that we made no progreſs to windward, and being apprehenſive of loſing the iſlands, with ſo many of the natives on board, I tacked and ſtood back, intending to wait till ſome more favourable opportunity. We did but juſt fetch in with Footooha, between which and Kotoo we ſpent the night, under reefed topſails and foreſail. The wind blew freſh, and by ſqualls, with rain; and we Saturday 31.

were

1777. May. were not without apprehenſions of danger. I kept the deck till midnight, when I left it to the Maſter, with ſuch directions as, I thought, would keep the ſhips clear of the ſhoals and rocks, that lay round us. But, after making a trip to the North, and ſtanding back again to the South, our ſhip, by a ſmall ſhift of the wind, fetched farther to the windward than was expected. By this means ſhe was very near running full upon a low ſandy iſle, called Pootoo Pootooa, ſurrounded with breakers. It happened, very fortunately, that the people had juſt been ordered upon the deck, to put the ſhip about, and the moſt of them were at their ſtations; ſo that the neceſſary movements were not only executed with judgment, but alſo with alertneſs; and this alone ſaved us from deſtruction. The Diſcovery being aſtern, was out of danger. Such hazardous ſituations are the unavoidable companions of the man, who goes upon a voyage of diſcovery.

This circumſtance frightened our paſſengers ſo much, that they expreſſed a ſtrong deſire to get aſhore. Accordingly, as ſoon as day-light returned, I hoiſted out a boat, and ordered the Officer who commanded her, after landing them at Kotoo, to ſound along the reef that ſpits off from that iſland, for anchorage. For I was full as much tired as they could be, with beating about amongſt the ſurrounding iſles and ſhoals, and determined to get to an anchor, ſomewhere or other, if poſſible. While the boat was abſent, we attempted to turn the ſhips through the channel, between the ſandy iſle and the reef of Kotoo, in expectation of finding a moderate depth of water behind them to anchor in. But, meeting with a tide or current againſt us, we were obliged to deſiſt, and anchor in fifty fathoms water, with the ſandy iſle bearing Eaſt by North, one mile diſtant.

June. Sunday 1.

We

We lay here till the 4th. While in this ſtation we were, ſeveral times, viſited by the king, by Toobouceitoa, and by people from the neighbouring iſlands, who came off to trade with us, though the wind blew very freſh moſt of the time. The maſter was now ſent to found the channels between the iſlands that lie to the Eaſtward; and I landed on Kotoo, to examine it, in the forenoon of the 2d. 1777. June. Monday 2.

This iſland is ſcarcely acceſſible by boats, on account of coral reefs that ſurround it. It is not more than a mile and half, or two miles, long; and not ſo broad. The North Weſt end of it is low, like the iſlands of Hapaee; but it riſes ſuddenly in the middle, and terminates in reddiſh clayey cliffs, at the South Eaſt end, about thirty feet high. The ſoil, in that quarter, is of the ſame ſort as in the cliffs; but, in the other parts, it is a looſe, black mould. It produces the ſame fruits and roots which we found at the other iſlands; is tolerably cultivated, but thinly inhabited. While I was walking all over it, our people were employed in cutting ſome graſs for the cattle; and we planted ſome melon ſeeds, with which the natives ſeemed much pleaſed, and incloſed them with branches. On our return to the boat, we paſſed by two or three ponds of dirty water, which was more or leſs brackiſh in each of them; and ſaw one of their burying-places, which was much neater than thoſe that were met with at Hapaee.

On the 4th, at ſeven in the morning, we weighed; and, with a freſh gale at Eaſt South Eaſt, ſtood away for Annamooka, where we anchored, next morning, nearly in the ſame ſtation which we had ſo lately occupied. Wedneſ. 4. Thurſday 5.

I went

1777. June. I went on ſhore ſoon after, and found the inhabitants very buſy in their plantations, digging up yams to bring to market; and, in the courſe of the day, about two hundred of them had aſſembled on the beach, and traded with as much eagerneſs, as during our late viſit. Their ſtock appeared to have been recruited much, though we had returned ſo ſoon; but, inſtead of bread-fruit, which was the only article we could purchaſe on our firſt arrival, nothing was to be ſeen now but yams, and a few plantains. This ſhews the quick ſucceſſion of the ſeaſons, at leaſt of the different vegetables produced here, at the ſeveral times of the year. It appeared alſo that they had been very buſy, while we were abſent, in cultivating; for we now ſaw ſeveral large plantain fields, in places which we had, ſo lately, ſeen lying waſte. The yams were now in the greateſt perfection; and we procured a good quantity, in exchanges for pieces of iron.

Theſe people, in the abſence of Toobou, whom we left behind us at Kotoo, with Poulaho and the other Chiefs, ſeemed to be under little ſubordination. For we could not perceive, this day, that one man aſſumed more authority than another. Before I returned on board, I viſited the ſeveral places where I had ſown melon ſeeds, and had the mortification to find, that moſt of them were deſtroyed by a ſmall ant; but ſome pine-apple plants, which I had alſo left, were in a thriving ſtate.

Friday 6. About noon, next day, Feenou arrived from Vavaoo. He told us, that ſeveral canoes, laden with hogs, and other proviſions, which had ſailed with him from that iſland, had been loſt, owing to the late blowing weather; and that every body

body on board them had periſhed. This melancholy tale did not ſeem to affect any of his countrymen who heard it; and, as to ourſelves, we were, by this time, too well acquainted with his character, to give much credit to ſuch a ſtory. The truth, probably, was, that he had not been able to procure at Vavaoo the ſupplies which he expected; or, if he got any there, that he had left them at Hapaee, which lay in his way back, and where he could not but receive intelligence that Poulaho had been with us; who, therefore, he knew, would, as his ſuperior, have all the merit and reward of procuring them, though he had not any ſhare of the trouble. The invention of this loſs at ſea was, however, well imagined. For there had lately been very blowing weather; in ſo much, that the King, and other Chiefs, who had followed us from Hapaee to Kotoo, had been left there, not caring to venture to ſea when we did; but deſired I might wait for them at Annamooka, which was the reaſon of my anchoring there, this ſecond time, and of my not proceeding directly to Tongataboo. 1777. June.

The following morning, Poulaho, and the other Chiefs who had been wind-bound with him, arrived. I happened, at this time, to be aſhore in company with Feenou; who now ſeemed to be ſenſible of the impropriety of his conduct, in aſſuming a character that did not belong to him. For he not only acknowledged Poulaho to be King of Tongataboo, and the other iſles; but affected to inſiſt much on it, which, no doubt, was with a view to make amends for his former preſumption. I left him, to viſit this greater man, whom I found ſitting with a few people before him. But, every one haſtening to pay court to him, the circle increaſed pretty faſt. I was very deſirous of obſerving Feenou's behaviour on this occaſion; and had the moſt convincing Saturday 7.

1777. June. proof of his ſuperiority; for he placed himſelf amongſt the reſt that ſat before Poulaho, as attendants on his majeſty. He ſeemed, at firſt, rather abaſhed; as ſome of us were preſent who had been uſed to ſee him act a different part; but he ſoon recovered himſelf. Some little converſation paſſed between theſe two Chiefs, which none of us underſtood; nor were we ſatisfied with Omai's interpretation of it. We were, however, by this time, ſufficiently undeceived as to Feenou's rank. Both he and Poulaho went on board with me to dinner; but only the latter ſat at table. Feenou, having made his obeiſance, in the uſual way, ſaluting his ſovereign's foot with his head and hands, retired out of the cabin *. The king had before told us, that this would happen; and it now appeared, that Feenou could not even eat nor drink in his royal preſence.

Sunday 8. At eight o'clock, next morning, we weighed and ſteered for Tongataboo, having a gentle breeze at North Eaſt. About fourteen or fifteen ſailing veſſels, belonging to the natives, ſet out with us; but every one of them outrun the ſhips conſiderably. Feenou was to have taken his paſſage in the Reſolution; but preferred his own canoe; and put two men on

* Marks of profound reſpect, very ſimilar to thoſe paid by natives of the Friendly Iſlands to their ſovereign, are alſo paid to the principal Chiefs, or *Tamoles* of the Caroline Iſlands, as appears from father Cantova's account here tranſcribed. "Lorſ-
" qu'un *Tamole* donne audience, il paroit aſſis ſur une table elevée: les peuples s'in-
" clinent devant lui juſqu'à terre; & du plus loin qu'ils arrivent, ils marchent le
" corps tout courbé, & la tête preſqu'entre les génoux, juſqu'à ce qu'ils ſoient au-
" près de ſa perſonne; alors ils s'aſſeyent à plate terre; &, les yeux baiſſés, ils re-
" çoivent ſes ordres avec le plus profond reſpect. Quand le *Tamole* les congedie, ils
" ſe retirent, en ſe courbant de la même manière que quand ils ſont venus, & ne ſe
" relevent que lorſqu'ils ſont hors de ſa preſence. Ses paroles ſont autant d'oracles
" qu'on revere; on rend à ſes ordres une obeiſſance aveugle; enfin, on baiſe les
" mains & les pieds, quand on lui demande quelque grace."

Lettres Edifiantes & Curieuſes, Tom. xv. p. 312, 313.

board,

board, to conduct us to the beſt anchorage. We ſteered South by Weſt by compaſs. 1777. June.

At five in the afternoon we ſaw two ſmall iſlands, bearing Weſt, about four leagues diſtant. Our pilots called the one Hoonga Hapaee, and the other Hoonga Tonga. They lie in the latitude of 20° 36′; and ten or eleven leagues from the Weſt point of Annamooka, in the direction of South, 46° Weſt. According to the account of the iſlanders on board, only five men reſide upon Hoonga Hapaee; and Hoonga Tonga is uninhabited; but both of them abound with ſea-fowl.

We continued the ſame courſe till two o'clock next morning, when, ſeeing ſome lights ahead, and not knowing whether they were on ſhore, or on board the canoes, we hauled the wind, and made a ſhort trip, each way, till day-break. We then reſumed our courſe to the South by Weſt; and, preſently after, ſaw ſeveral ſmall iſlands before us, and Eooa and Tongataboo beyond them. We had, at this time, twenty-five fathoms water, over a bottom of broken coral and ſand. The depth gradually decreaſed as we drew near the iſles above mentioned, which lie ranged along the North Eaſt ſide of Tongataboo. By the direction of our pilots we ſteered for the middle of it, and for the wideſt ſpace between the ſmall iſles which we were to paſs; having our boats ahead, employed in ſounding. We were, inſenſibly, drawn upon a large flat, upon which lay innumerable coral rocks, of different depths, below the ſurface of the water. Notwithſtanding all our care and attention to keep the ſhip clear of them, we could not prevent her from ſtriking on one of theſe rocks. Nor did the Diſcovery, though behind us, eſcape any better. Fortunately, neither of the ſhips ſtuck Monday 9.

1777. June. faſt, nor received any damage. We could not get back without increaſing the danger, as we had come in almoſt before the wind. Nor could we caſt anchor, but with the certainty of having our cables inſtantly cut in two by the rocks. We had no other reſource but to proceed. To this, indeed, we were encouraged, not only by being told, but by ſeeing, that there was deeper water between us and the ſhore. However, that we might be better informed, the moment we found a ſpot where we could drop the anchor, clear of rocks, we came to; and ſent the Maſters, with the boats, to ſound.

Soon after we had anchored, which was about noon, ſeveral of the inhabitants of Tongataboo came off in their canoes to the ſhips. Theſe, as well as our pilots, aſſured us, that we ſhould find deep water farther in, and a bottom free from rocks. They were not miſtaken; for, about four o'clock, the boats made the ſignal for having found good anchorage. Upon this we weighed, and ſtood in till dark, and then anchored in nine fathoms, having a fine, clear, ſandy bottom.

During the night we had ſome ſhowers of rain; but toward the morning, the wind ſhifted to the South, and South Tueſday 10. Eaſt, and brought on fair weather. At day-break we weighed, and, working in to the ſhore, met with no obſtructions, but ſuch as were viſible, and eaſily avoided.

While we were plying up to the harbour, to which the natives directed us, the king kept ſailing round us in his canoe. There were, at the ſame time, a great many ſmall canoes about the ſhips. Two of theſe, which could not get out of the way of his royal veſſel, he run quite over, with as little concern, as if they had been bits of wood.

The Writing Engraved by Mr Smith

wood. Amongſt many others who came on board the Reſolution, was Otago *, who had been ſo uſeful to me when I viſited Tongataboo during my laſt voyage; and one Toobou, who, at that time, had attached himſelf to Captain Furneaux. Each of them brought a hog, and ſome yams, as a teſtimony of his friendſhip; and I was not wanting, on my part, in making a ſuitable return. 1777. June.

At length, about two in the afternoon, we arrived at our intended ſtation. It was a very ſnug place, formed by the ſhore of Tongataboo on the South Eaſt, and two ſmall iſlands on the Eaſt and North Eaſt. Here we anchored in ten fathoms water, over a bottom of oozy ſand; diſtant from the ſhore one-third of a mile.

* See a print of him in Captain Cook's Voyage, Vol. i. p. 197.

CHAP.

CHAP. VII.

Friendly Reception at Tongataboo.—Manner of diſtributing a baked Hog and Kava to Poulaho's Attendants.—The Obſervatory, &c. erected.—The Village where the Chiefs reſide, and the adjoining Country, deſcribed.—Interviews with Mareewagee, and Toobou, and the King's Son.—A grand Haiva, or Entertainment of Songs and Dances, given by Mareewagee.—Exhibition of Fire-works.—Manner of Wreſtling and Boxing.—Diſtribution of the Cattle.—Thefts committed by the Natives.—Poulaho, and the other Chiefs, confined on that Account.—Poulaho's Preſent, and Haiva.

1777. June. Tueſday 10. SOON after we had anchored, having firſt dined, I landed, accompanied by Omai, and ſome of the Officers. We found the king waiting for us upon the beach. He, immediately, conducted us to a ſmall neat houſe, ſituated a little within the ſkirts of the woods, with a fine large area before it. This houſe, he told me, was at my ſervice, during our ſtay at the iſland; and a better ſituation we could not wiſh for.

We had not been long in the houſe, before a pretty large circle of the natives were aſſembled before us, and ſeated upon the area. A root of the *kava* plant being brought, and laid down before the king, he ordered it to be ſplit into pieces, and diſtributed to ſeveral people of both ſexes, who began the

the operation of chewing it; and a bowl of their favourite liquor was ſoon prepared. In the mean time, a baked hog, and two baſkets of baked yams, were produced, and afterward divided into ten portions. Theſe portions were then given to certain people preſent; but how many were to ſhare in each, I could not tell. One of them, I obſerved, was beſtowed upon the king's brother; and one remained undiſpoſed of, which, I judged, was for the king himſelf, as it was a choice bit. The liquor was next ſerved out; but Poulaho ſeemed to give no directions about it. The firſt cup was brought to him, which he ordered to be given to one who ſat near him. The ſecond was alſo brought to him, and this he kept. The third was given to me; but their manner of brewing having quenched my thirſt, it became Omai's property. The reſt of the liquor was diſtributed to different people, by direction of the man who had the management of it. One of the cups being carried to the king's brother, he retired with this, and with his meſs of victuals. Some others alſo quitted the circle with their portions; and the reaſon was, they could neither eat nor drink in the royal preſence; but there were others preſent, of a much inferior rank, of both ſexes, who did both. Soon after, moſt of them withdrew, carrying with them what they had not eat of their ſhare of the feaſt. 1777. June.

I obſerved, that not a fourth part of the company had taſted either the victuals or the drink; thoſe who partook of the former, I ſuppoſed to be of the king's houſehold. The ſervants, who diſtributed the baked meat, and the *kava*, always delivered it out of their hand ſitting, not only to the king, but to every other perſon. It is worthy of remark, though this was the firſt time of our landing, and a great many people were preſent who had never ſeen us before,

1777. June. yet no one was troubleſome; but the greateſt good order was preſerved, throughout the whole aſſembly.

Before I returned on board, I went in ſearch of a watering place, and was conducted to ſome ponds, or rather holes, containing freſh water, as they were pleaſed to call it. The contents of one of theſe, indeed, were tolerable; but it was at ſome diſtance inland, and the ſupply to be got from it was very inconſiderable. Being informed, that the little iſland of Pangimodoo, near which the ſhips lay, could better furniſh this neceſſary article, I went over to it, next Wedneſ. 11. morning, and was ſo fortunate as to find there a ſmall pool, that had rather freſher water, than any we had met with amongſt theſe iſlands. The pool being very dirty, I ordered it to be cleaned; and here it was that we watered the ſhips.

As I intended to make ſome ſtay at Tongataboo, we pitched a tent, in the forenoon, juſt by the houſe which Poulaho had aſſigned for our uſe. The horſes, cattle, and ſheep, were afterward landed, and a party of marines, with their Officer, ſtationed there as a guard. The obſervatory was then ſet up, at a ſmall diſtance from the other tent; and Mr. King reſided on ſhore, to attend the obſervations, and to ſuperintend the ſeveral operations neceſſary to be conducted there. For the ſails were carried thither, to be repaired; a party was employed in cutting wood for fuel, and plank for the uſe of the ſhips; and the gunners of both, were ordered to remain upon the ſpot, to conduct the traffic with the natives, who thronged from every part of the iſland, with hogs, yams, cocoa-nuts, and other articles of their produce. In a ſhort time, our land poſt was like a fair, and the ſhips were ſo crowded with viſiters, that we had hardly room to ſtir upon the decks.

Feenou

Feenou had taken up his reſidence in our neighbourhood; but he was no longer the leading man. However, we ſtill found him to be a perſon of conſequence, and we had daily proofs of his opulence and liberality, by the continuance of his valuable preſents. But the king was equally attentive in this reſpect; for ſcarcely a day paſſed, without receiving from him ſome conſiderable donation. We now heard, that there were other great men of the iſland, whom we had not, as yet, ſeen. Otago and Toobou, in particular, mentioned a perſon named Mareewagee, who, they ſaid, was of the firſt conſequence in the place, and held in great veneration; nay, if Omai did not miſunderſtand them, ſuperior even to Poulaho, to whom he was related; but, being old, lived in retirement; and, therefore, would not viſit us. Some of the natives even hinted, that he was too great a man to confer that honour upon us. This account exciting my curioſity, I, this day, mentioned to Poulaho, that I was very deſirous of waiting upon Mareewagee; and he readily agreed to accompany me, to the place of his reſidence, the next morning. 1777. June.

Accordingly, we ſet out, pretty early, in the pinnace; and Captain Clerke joined me in one of his own boats. We proceeded round, that is, to the Eaſtward of the little iſles that form the harbour, and then, turning to the South, according to Poulaho's directions, entered a ſpacious bay or inlet, up which we rowed about a league, and landed amidſt a conſiderable number of people, who received us with a ſort of acclamation, not unlike our huzzaing. They immediately ſeparated, to let Poulaho paſs, who took us into a ſmall incloſure, and ſhifted the piece of cloth he wore, for a new piece, neatly folded, that was carried by a young man. An old woman aſſiſted in dreſſing him, and put a Thurſday 12.

1777. June. mat over his cloth; as we ſuppoſed, to prevent its being dirtied when he ſat down. On our now aſking him where Mareewagee was, to our great ſurprize, he ſaid, he had gone from the place, to the ſhip, juſt before we arrived. However, he deſired us to walk with him to a *malaee*, or houſe of public reſort, which ſtood about half a mile up the country. But when we came to a large area before it, he ſat down in the path, and deſired us to walk up to the houſe. We did ſo, and ſeated ourſelves in front, while the crowd that followed us filled up the reſt of the ſpace. After ſitting a little while, we repeated our inquiries, by means of Omai, Whether we were to ſee Mareewagee? But receiving no ſatisfactory information, and ſuſpecting that the old Chief was purpoſely concealed from us, we went back to our boats, much piqued at our diſappointment; and when I got on board, I found that no ſuch perſon had been there. It afterward appeared, that, in this affair, we had laboured under ſome groſs miſtakes, and that our interpreter Omai had either been miſinformed, or, which is more likely, had miſunderſtood what was told him about the great man, on whoſe account we had made this excurſion.

The place we went to was a village, moſt delightfully ſituated on the bank of the inlet, where all, or moſt of the principal perſons of the iſland reſide; each having his houſe in the midſt of a ſmall plantation, with leſſer houſes, and offices for ſervants. Theſe plantations are neatly fenced round; and, for the moſt part, have only one entrance. This is by a door, faſtened, on the inſide, by a prop of wood; ſo that a perſon has to knock, before he can get admittance. Public roads, and narrow lanes, lie between each plantation; ſo that no one treſpaſſeth upon another. Great part of ſome of theſe incloſures is laid out in graſs-plots, and planted

planted with ſuch things as ſeem more for ornament than uſe. But hardly any were without the *kava* plant, from which they make their favourite liquor. Every article of the vegetable produce of the iſland, abounded in others of theſe plantations; but theſe, I obſerved, are not the reſidence of people of the firſt rank. There are ſome large houſes near the public roads, with ſpacious ſmooth graſs-plots before them, and unincloſed. Theſe, I was told, belonged to the king; and, probably, they are the places where their public aſſemblies are held. It was to one of theſe houſes, as I have already mentioned, that we were conducted, ſoon after our landing at this place. 1777. June.

About noon, the next day, this Mareewagee, of whom we had heard ſo much, actually came to the neighbourhood of our poſt on ſhore; and, with him, a very conſiderable number of people of all ranks. I was informed, that he had taken this trouble, on purpoſe to give me an opportunity of waiting upon him; having, probably, heard of the diſpleaſure I had ſhewn, on my diſappointment the day before. In the afternoon, a party of us, accompanied by Feenou, landed, to pay him a viſit. We found a perſon ſitting under a large tree, near the ſhore, a little to the right of the tent. A piece of cloth, at leaſt forty yards long, was ſpread before him, round which a great number of people, of both ſexes, were ſeated. It was natural to ſuppoſe, that this was the great man; but we were undeceived by Feenou; who informed us, that another, who ſat on a piece of mat, a little way from this Chief, to the right hand, was Mareewagee, and he introduced us to him, who received us very kindly, and deſired us to ſit down by him. The perſon, who ſat under the tree, fronting us, was called Toobou; and, when I have occaſion to ſpeak of him afterward, I ſhall call Friday 13.

1777. June. him old Toobou, to diſtinguiſh him from his nameſake, Captain Furneaux's friend. Both he and Mareewagee had a venerable appearance. The latter is a ſlender man, and, from his appearance, ſeems to be conſiderably above three-ſcore years of age. The former is rather corpulent, and almoſt blind with a diſorder of his eyes; though not ſo old.

Not expecting to meet with two Chiefs, on this occaſion, I had only brought on ſhore a preſent for one. This I now found myſelf under a neceſſity of dividing between them; but it happened to be pretty conſiderable, and both of them ſeemed ſatisfied. After this, we entertained them, for about an hour, with the performance of two French horns, and a drum. But they ſeemed moſt pleaſed with the firing off a piſtol, which Captain Clerke had in his pocket. Before I took my leave, the large piece of cloth was rolled up, and, with a few cocoa-nuts, preſented to me.

Saturday 14. The next morning, old Toobou returned my viſit on board the ſhip. He alſo viſited Captain Clerke; and if the preſent we made to him, the evening before, was ſcanty, the deficiency was now made up. During this time, Mareewagee viſited our people aſhore; and Mr. King ſhewed to him every thing we had there. He viewed the cattle with great admiration; and the croſs-cut ſaw fixed his attention for ſome time.

Toward noon, Poulaho returned from the place where we had left him two days before, and brought with him his ſon, a youth about twelve years of age. I had his company at dinner; but the ſon, though preſent, was not allowed to ſit down with him. It was very convenient to have him for my gueſt. For when he was preſent, which was generally the caſe while we ſtayed here, every other native was excluded

excluded from the table; and but few of them would remain in the cabin. Whereas, if, by chance, it happened, that neither he nor Feenou were on board, the inferior Chiefs would be very importunate to be of our dining party, or to be admitted into the cabin at that time; and then we were ſo crowded, that we could not ſit down to a meal with any ſatisfaction. The king was very ſoon reconciled to our manner of cookery. But ſtill, I believe, he dined thus frequently with me, more for the ſake of what we gave him to drink, than for what we ſet before him to eat. For he had taken a liking to our wine, could empty his bottle as well as moſt men, and was as cheerful over it. He now fixed his reſidence at the houſe, or *Malaee*, by our tent; and there he entertained our people, this evening, with a dance. To the ſurpriſe of every body, the unwieldy Poulaho endeavoured to vie with others, in that active amuſement. 1777. June.

In the morning of the 15th, I received a meſſage from Old Toobou, that he wanted to ſee me aſhore. Accordingly Omai and I went to wait upon him. We found him, like an ancient patriarch, ſeated under the ſhade of a tree, with a large piece of the cloth, made in the iſland, ſpread out at full length before him; and a number of reſpectably looking people ſitting round it. He deſired us to place ourſelves by him; and then he told Omai, that the cloth, together with a piece of red feathers, and about a dozen cocoa-nuts, were his preſent to me. I thanked him for the favour; and deſired he would go on board with me, as I had nothing on ſhore to give him in return. Sunday 15.

Omai now left me, being ſent for by Poulaho; and, ſoon after, Feenou came, and acquainted me that young Fattafaihe, Poulaho's ſon, deſired to ſee me. I obeyed the ſummons, and found the prince, and Omai, ſitting under a large

1777. June. large canopy of the finer ſort of cloth; with a piece of the coarſer ſort, ſpread under them and before them, that was ſeventy-ſix yards long, and ſeven and a half broad. On one ſide was a large old boar; and on the other ſide a heap of cocoa-nuts. A number of people were ſeated round the cloth; and, amongſt them, I obſerved Mareewagee, and others of the firſt rank. I was deſired to ſit down by the prince; and then Omai informed me, that he had been inſtructed by the king to tell me, that, as he and I were friends, he hoped that his ſon might be joined in this friendſhip; and that, as a token of my conſent, I would accept of his preſent. I very readily agreed to the propoſal; and, it being now dinner-time, I invited them all on board.

Accordingly, the young prince, Mareewagee, old Toobou, three or four inferior Chiefs, and two reſpectable old ladies of the firſt rank, accompanied me. Mareewagee was dreſſed in a new piece of cloth, on the ſkirts of which were fixed ſix pretty large patches of red feathers. This dreſs ſeemed to have been made, on purpoſe, for this viſit; for, as ſoon as he got on board, he put it off, and preſented it to me; having, I gueſs, heard that it would be acceptable, on account of the feathers. Every one of my viſiters received from me ſuch preſents, as, I had reaſon to believe, they were highly ſatisfied with. When dinner came upon table, not one of them would ſit down, or eat a bit of any thing that was ſerved up. On expreſſing my ſurpriſe at this, they were all *taboo*, as they ſaid; which word has a very comprehenſive meaning; but, in general, ſignifies that a thing is forbidden. Why they were laid under ſuch reſtraints, at preſent, was not explained. Dinner being over, and, having gratified their curioſity, by ſhewing to them every part of the ſhip, I then conducted them aſhore.

As ſoon as the boat reached the beach, Feenou, and ſome others, inſtantly ſtepped out. Young Fattafaihe following them, was called back by Mareewagee, who now paid the heir apparent the ſame obeiſance, and in the ſame manner, that I had ſeen it paid to the king. And when old Toubou, and one of the old ladies, had ſhewn him the ſame marks of reſpect, he was ſuffered to land. This ceremony being over, the old people ſtepped from my boat, into a canoe, that was waiting to carry them to their place of abode. 1777. June.

I was not ſorry to be preſent on this occaſion, as I was thus furniſhed with the moſt unequivocal proofs of the ſupreme dignity of Poulaho and his ſon, over the other principal Chiefs. Indeed, by this time, I had acquired ſome certain information about the relative ſituations of the ſeveral great men, whoſe names have been ſo often mentioned. I now knew, that Mareewagee and old Toobou were brothers. Both of them were men of great property in the iſland, and ſeemed to be in high eſtimation with the people; the former, in particular, had the very honourable appellation given to him, by every body, of *Motooa Tonga*; that is to ſay, Father of Tonga, or of his Country. The nature of his relationſhip to the king was alſo no longer a ſecret to us; for we now underſtood, that he was his father-in-law; Poulaho having married one of his daughters, by whom he had this ſon; ſo that Mareewagee was the prince's grandfather. Poulaho's appearance having ſatisfied us, that we had been under a miſtake, in conſidering Feenou as the ſovereign of theſe iſlands, we had been, at firſt, much puzzled about his real rank; but that was, by this time, aſcertained. Feenou was one of Mareewagee's ſons; and Tooboueitoa was another.

On

1777. June. On my landing, I found the king, in the houſe adjoining to our tent, along with our people who reſided on ſhore. The moment I got to him, he beſtowed upon me a preſent of a large hog, and a quantity of yams. About the duſk of the evening, a number of men came, and, having ſat down in a round group, began to ſing in concert with the muſic of bamboo drums, which were placed in the centre*. There were three long ones, and two ſhort. With theſe they ſtruck the ground endwiſe, as before deſcribed. There were two others, which lay on the ground, ſide by ſide, and one of them was ſplit or ſhivered; on theſe a man kept beating with two ſmall ſticks. They ſung three ſongs while I ſtayed; and, I was told, that, after I left them, the entertainment laſted till ten o'clock. They burnt the leaves of the *wharra* palm for a light; which is the only thing I ever ſaw them make uſe of for this purpoſe.

While I was paſſing the day in attendance on theſe great men, Mr. Anderſon, with ſome others, made an excurſion into the country, which furniſhed him with the following remarks: "To the Weſtward of the tent, the country is totally uncultivated for near two miles, though quite covered with trees and buſhes, in a natural ſtate, growing with the greateſt vigour. Beyond this is a pretty large plain, on which are ſome cocoa-trees, and a few ſmall plantations that appear to have been lately made; and, ſeemingly, on ground that has never been cultivated before. Near the creek, which runs to the Weſtward of the tent, the land is quite flat, and partly overflowed by the ſea every

* The ſame ſort of evening concert is performed round the houſe of the Chief, or *Tamole*, at the Caroline Iſlands. "Le *Tamole* ne s'endort qu'au bruit d'un concert "de muſique que forme une troupe de jeunes gens, qui s'aſſemblent le ſoir, autour de "ſa maiſon, & qui chantent, à leur manière, certaines poëſies." *Lettres Edifiantes & Curieuſes*, Tom. xv. p. 314.

tide.

tide. When that retires, the ſurface is ſeen to be compoſed of coral rock, with holes of yellowiſh mud ſcattered up and down; and toward the edges, where it is a little firmer, are innumerable little openings, from which iſſue as many ſmall crabs, of two or three different ſorts, which ſwarm upon the ſpot, as flies upon a carcaſe; but are ſo nimble, that, on being approached, they diſappear in an inſtant, and baffle even the natives to catch any of them. 1777. June.

At this place is a work of art, which ſhews, that theſe people are capable of ſome deſign, and perſeverance, when they mean to accompliſh any thing. This work begins, on one ſide, as a narrow cauſeway, which, becoming gradually broader, riſes, with a gentle aſcent, to the height of ten feet, where it is five paces broad, and the whole length ſeventy-four paces. Joined to this is a ſort of circus, whoſe diameter is thirty paces, and not above a foot or two higher than the cauſeway that joins it, with ſome trees planted in the middle. On the oppoſite ſide, another cauſeway of the ſame ſort deſcends; but this is not above forty paces long, and is partly in ruin. The whole is built with large coral ſtones, with earth on the ſurface, which is quite overgrown with low trees and ſhrubs; and, from its decaying in ſeveral places, ſeems to be of no modern date. Whatever may have been its uſe formerly, it ſeems to be of none now; and all that we could learn of it from the natives was, that it belonged to Poulaho, and is called *Etchee*."

On the 16th, in the morning, after viſiting the ſeveral works now carrying on aſhore, Mr. Gore, and I, took a walk into the country; in the courſe of which nothing remarkable appeared, but our having opportunities of ſeeing the whole proceſs of making cloth, which is the principal Monday 16.

1777. June. manufacture of theſe iſlands, as well as of many others in this Ocean. In the narrative of my firſt Voyage *, a minute deſcription is given of this operation, as performed at Otaheite; but the proceſs, here, differing in ſome particulars, it may be worth while to give the following account of it:

The manufacturers, who are females, take the ſlender ſtalks or trunks of the paper-mulberry, which they cultivate for that purpoſe; and which ſeldom grows more than ſix or ſeven feet in height, and about four fingers in thickneſs. From theſe they ſtrip the bark, and ſcrape off the outer rind with a muſcle-ſhell. The bark is then rolled up to take off the convexity which it had round the ſtalk, and macerated in water for ſome time (they ſay, a night). After this, it is laid acroſs the trunk of a ſmall tree ſquared, and beaten with a ſquare wooden inſtrument, about a foot long, full of coarſe grooves on all ſides; but, ſometimes, with one that is plain. According to the ſize of the bark, a piece is ſoon produced; but the operation is often repeated by another hand, or it is folded ſeveral times, and beat longer, which ſeems rather intended to cloſe than to divide its texture. When this is ſufficiently effected, it is ſpread out to dry; the pieces being from four to ſix, or more, feet in length, and half as broad. They are then given to another perſon, who joins the pieces, by ſmearing part of them over with the viſcous juice of a berry, called *tooo*, which ſerves as a glue. Having been thus lengthened, they are laid over a large piece of wood, with a kind of ſtamp, made of a fibrous ſubſtance pretty cloſely interwoven, placed beneath. They then take a bit of cloth, and dip it in a juice,

* Hawkeſworth's Collection of Voyages, Vol. ii. p. 210.

expreſſed from the bark of a tree, called *kokka*, which they rub briſkly upon the piece that is making. This, at once, leaves a dull brown colour, and a dry gloſs upon its ſurface; the ſtamp, at the ſame time, making a ſlight impreſſion, that anſwers no other purpoſe that I could ſee, but to make the ſeveral pieces, that are glued together, ſtick a little more firmly. In this manner they proceed, joining and ſtaining by degrees, till they produce a piece of cloth, of ſuch length and breadth as they want; generally leaving a border, of a foot broad, at the ſides, and longer at the ends, unſtained. Throughout the whole, if any parts of the original pieces are too thin, or have holes, which is often the caſe, they glue ſpare bits upon them, till they become of an equal thickneſs. When they want to produce a black colour, they mix the ſoot procured from an oily nut, called *dooedooe*, with the juice of the *kokka*, in different quantities, according to the propoſed depth of the tinge. They ſay, that the black ſort of cloth, which is commonly moſt glazed, makes a cold dreſs, but the other a warm one; and, to obtain ſtrength in both, they are always careful to join the ſmall pieces lengthwiſe, which makes it impoſſible to tear the cloth in any direction but one. 1777. June.

On our return from the country, we met with Feenou, and took him, and another young Chief, on board to dinner. When our fare was ſet upon the table, neither of them would eat a bit; ſaying, that they were *taboo avy*. But, after enquiring how the victuals had been dreſſed, having found that no *avy* (water) had been uſed in cooking a pig and ſome yams, they both ſat down, and made a very hearty meal; and, on being aſſured that there was no water in the wine, they drank of it alſo. From this we conjectured, that, on ſome account or another, they were, at

1777. June. this time, forbidden to uſe water; or, which was more probable, they did not like the water we made uſe of, it being taken up out of one of their bathing-places. This was not the only time of our meeting with people that were *taboo avy*; but, for what reaſon, we never could tell with any degree of certainty.

Tueſday 17. Next day, the 17th, was fixed upon by Mareewagee, for giving a grand *Haiva*, or entertainment; to which we were all invited. For this purpoſe a large ſpace had been cleared, before the temporary hut of this Chief, near our poſt, as an area where the performances were to be exhibited. In the morning, great multitudes of the natives came in from the country, every one carrying a pole, about ſix feet long, upon his ſhoulder; and at each end of every pole, a yam was ſuſpended. Theſe yams and poles were depoſited on each ſide of the area, ſo as to form two large heaps, decorated with different ſorts of ſmall fiſh, and piled up to the greateſt advantage. They were Mareewagee's preſent to Captain Clerke and me; and it was hard to ſay, whether the wood for fuel, or the yams for food, were of moſt value to us. As for the fiſh, they might ſerve to pleaſe the ſight, but were very offenſive to the ſmell; part of them having been kept two or three days, to be preſented to us on this occaſion.

Every thing being thus prepared, about eleven o'clock they began to exhibit various dances, which they call *mai*. The muſic * conſiſted, at firſt, of ſeventy men as a chorus, who ſat down; and amidſt them were placed three inſtruments, which we called drums, though very unlike them. They are large cylindrical pieces of wood, or trunks of

* Mr. Anderſon's deſcription of the entertainments of this day being much fuller than Captain Cook's, it has been adopted as on a former occaſion.

trees,

trees, from three to four feet long, ſome twice as thick as an ordinary ſized man, and ſome ſmaller, hollowed entirely out, but cloſe at both ends, and open only by a chink, about three inches broad, running almoſt the whole length of the drums; by which opening, the reſt of the wood is certainly hollowed, though the operation muſt be difficult. This inſtrument is called *naffa*; and, with the chink turned toward them, they ſit and beat ſtrongly upon it, with two cylindrical pieces of hard wood, about a foot long, and as thick as the wriſt; by which means they produce a rude, though loud and powerful ſound. They vary the ſtrength and rate of their beating, at different parts of the dance; and alſo change the tones, by beating in the middle, or near the end, of their drum. 1777. June.

The firſt dance conſiſted of four ranks, of twenty-four men each, holding in their hands a little, thin, light, wooden inſtrument, above two feet long, and, in ſhape, not unlike a ſmall oblong paddle. With theſe, which are called *pagge*, they made a great many different motions; ſuch as pointing them toward the ground on one ſide, at the ſame time inclining their bodies that way, from which they were ſhifted to the oppoſite ſide in the ſame manner; then paſſing them quickly from one hand to the other, and twirling them about very dextrouſly; with a variety of other manœuvres, all which were accompanied by correſponding attitudes of the body. Their motions were, at firſt, ſlow, but quickened as the drums beat faſter; and they recited ſentences, in a muſical tone, the whole time, which were anſwered by the chorus; but at the end of a ſhort ſpace they all joined, and finiſhed with a ſhout.

After ceaſing about two or three minutes, they began as before, and continued, with ſhort intervals, above a quarter of

1777. June. of an hour; when the rear rank dividing, ſhifted themſelves very ſlowly round each end, and, meeting in the front, formed the firſt rank; the whole number continuing to recite the ſentences as before. The other ranks did the ſame ſucceſſively, till that which, at firſt, was the front, became the rear; and the evolution continued, in the ſame manner, till the laſt rank regained its firſt ſituation. They then began a much quicker dance (though ſlow at firſt), and ſung for about ten minutes, when the whole body divided into two parts, retreated a little, and then approached, forming a ſort of circular figure, which finiſhed the dance; the drums being removed, and the chorus going off the field at the ſame time.

The ſecond dance had only two drums, with forty men for a chorus; and the dancers, or rather actors, conſiſted of two ranks, the foremoſt having ſeventeen, and the other fifteen perſons. Feenou was at their head, or in the middle of the front rank, which is the principal place in theſe caſes. They danced and recited ſentences, with ſome very ſhort intervals, for about half an hour, ſometimes quickly, ſometimes more ſlowly, but with ſuch a degree of exactneſs, as if all the motions were made by one man, which did them great credit. Near the cloſe, the back rank divided, came round, and took the place of the front, which again reſumed its ſituation, as in the firſt dance; and when they finiſhed, the drums and chorus, as before, went off.

Three drums (which, at leaſt, took two, and ſometimes three men to carry them) were now brought in; and ſeventy men ſat down as a chorus to the third dance. This conſiſted of two ranks, of ſixteen perſons each, with young Toobou at their head, who was richly ornamented with a

ſort

1777. June.

ſort of garment covered with red feathers. Theſe danced, ſung, and twirled the *pagge*, as before; but, in general, much quicker, and performed ſo well, that they had the conſtant applauſes of the ſpectators. A motion that met with particular approbation, was one in which they held the face aſide, as if aſhamed, and the *pagge* before it. The back rank cloſed before the front one, and that again reſumed its place, as in the two former dances; but then they began again, formed a triple row, divided, retreated to each end of the area, and left the greateſt part of the ground clear. At that inſtant, two men entered very haſtily, and exerciſed the clubs which they uſe in battle. They did this, by firſt twirling them in their hands, and making circular ſtrokes before them with great force and quickneſs; but ſo ſkilfully managed, that, though ſtanding quite cloſe, they never interfered. They ſhifted their clubs from hand to hand, with great dexterity; and, after continuing a little time, kneeled, and made different motions, toſſing the clubs up in the air, which they caught as they fell; and then went off as haſtily as they entered. Their heads were covered with pieces of white cloth, tied at the crown (almoſt like a night-cap) with a wreath of foliage round the forehead; but they had only very ſmall pieces of white cloth tied about their waiſts; probably, that they might be cool, and free from every incumbrance or weight. A perſon with a ſpear, dreſſed like the former, then came in, and in the ſame haſty manner; looking about eagerly, as if in ſearch of ſomebody to throw it at. He then ran haſtily to one ſide of the crowd in the front, and put himſelf in a threatening attitude, as if he meant to ſtrike with his ſpear at one of them, bending the knee a little, and trembling, as it were with rage. He continued in this manner only a few ſeconds, when he moved to the other

1777. June. other ſide, and having ſtood in the ſame poſture there, for the ſame ſhort time, retreated from the ground, as faſt as when he made his appearance. The dancers, who had divided into two parties, kept repeating ſomething ſlowly all this while; and now advanced, and joined again, ending with univerſal applauſe. It ſhould ſeem, that this dance was conſidered as one of their capital performances, if we might judge from ſome of the principal people being engaged in it. For one of the drums was beat by Futtafaihe, the brother of Poulaho, another by Feenou, and the third, which did not belong to the chorus, by Mareewagee himſelf, at the entrance of his hut.

The laſt dance had forty men, and two drums, as a chorus. It conſiſted of ſixty men, who had not danced before, diſpoſed in three rows, having twenty-four in front. But, before they began, we were entertained with a pretty long preliminary harangue, in which the whole body made reſponſes to a ſingle perſon who ſpoke. They recited ſentences (perhaps verſes) alternately with the chorus, and made many motions with the *pagge*, in a very briſk mode, which were all applauded with *mareeai!* and *fyfogge!* words expreſſing two different degrees of praiſe. They divided into two bodies, with their backs to each other; formed again, ſhifted their ranks, as in the other dances; divided and retreated, making room for two champions, who exerciſed their clubs as before; and after them two others: the dancers, all the time, reciting ſlowly in turn with the chorus; after which they advanced, and finiſhed.

Theſe dances, if they can properly be called ſo, laſted from eleven till near three o'clock; and though they were, doubtleſs, intended, particularly, either in honour of us, or to ſhew a ſpecimen of their dexterity, vaſt numbers of

their own people attended as ſpectators. Their numbers could not be computed exactly, on account of the inequality of the ground; but, by reckoning the inner circle, and the number in depth, which was between twenty and thirty in many places, we ſuppoſed that there muſt be near four thouſand. At the ſame time, there were round the trading place at the tent, and ſtraggling about, at leaſt as many more; and ſome of us computed, that, at this time, there were not leſs than ten or twelve thouſand people, in our neighbourhood; that is, within the compaſs of a quarter of a mile; drawn together, for the moſt part, by mere curioſity. 1777. June.

It is with regret I mention, that we could not underſtand what was ſpoken, while we were able to ſee what was acted, in theſe amuſements. This, doubtleſs, would have afforded us much information, as to the genius and cuſtoms of theſe people. It was obſervable, that, though the ſpectators always approved of the various motions, when well made, a great ſhare of the pleaſure they received ſeemed to ariſe from the ſentimental part, or what the performers delivered in their ſpeeches. However, the mere acting part, independently of the ſentences repeated, was well worth our notice, both with reſpect to the extenſive plan on which it was executed, and to the various motions, as well as the exact unity, with which they were performed. The drawings which Mr. Webber made of the performances at Hapaee, and which are equally applicable to thoſe exhibited now, will ſerve much to illuſtrate the account here given of the order in which the actors range themſelves. But neither pencil nor pen can deſcribe the numerous actions and motions, the ſingularity of which was not greater, than

1777. June. was the eaſe and gracefulneſs with which they were performed.

At night, we were entertained with the *bomai*, or night dances, on a ſpace before Feenou's temporary habitation. They laſted about three hours; in which time we had about twelve of them performed, much after the ſame manner as thoſe at Hapaee. But, in two, that were performed by women, a number of men came and formed a circle within their's. And, in another, conſiſting of twenty-four men, there were a number of motions with the hands, that we had not ſeen before, and were highly applauded. The muſic was, alſo, once changed, in the courſe of the night; and in one of the dances, Feenou appeared at the head of fifty men who had performed at Hapaee, and he was well dreſſed with linen, a large piece of gauze, and ſome little pictures hung round his neck. But it was evident, after the diverſions were cloſed, that we had put theſe poor people, or rather that they had put themſelves, to much inconvenience. For being drawn together on this uninhabited part of their iſland, numbers of them were obliged to lie down and ſleep under the buſhes, by the ſide of a tree, or of a canoe; nay many either lay down in the open air, which they are not fond of, or walked about all the night.

The whole of this entertainment was conducted with far better order, than could have been expected in ſo large an aſſembly. Amongſt ſuch a multitude, there muſt be a number of ill-diſpoſed people; and we, hourly, experienced it. All our care and attention did not prevent their plundering us, in every quarter; and that, in the moſt daring and inſolent manner. There was hardly any thing that they did not attempt to ſteal; and yet, as the crowd was always ſo great,

great, I would not allow the ſentries to fire, leſt the innocent ſhould ſuffer for the guilty. They once, at noon day, ventured to aim at taking an anchor from off the Diſcovery's bows; and they would certainly have ſucceeded, if the ſlook had not hooked one of the chain plates in lowering down the ſhip's ſide, from which they could not diſengage it by hand; and tackles were things they were unacquainted with. The only act of violence they were guilty of, was the breaking the ſhoulder bone of one of our goats, ſo that ſhe died ſoon after. This loſs fell upon themſelves, as ſhe was one of thoſe that I intended to leave upon the iſland; but of this, the perſon who did it, was ignorant. 1777. June.

Early in the morning of the 18th, an incident happened, that ſtrongly marked one of their cuſtoms. A man got out of a canoe into the quarter gallery of the Reſolution, and ſtole from thence a pewter baſon. He was diſcovered, purſued, and brought along-ſide the ſhip. On this occaſion, three old women, who were in the canoe, made loud lamentations over the priſoner, beating their breaſts and faces in a moſt violent manner, with the inſide of their fiſts; and all this was done without ſhedding a tear. This mode of expreſſing grief is what occaſions the mark which almoſt all this people bear on the face, over the cheek bones. The repeated blows which they inflict upon this part, abrade the ſkin, and make even the blood flow out in a conſiderable quantity; and when the wounds are recent, they look as if a hollow circle had been burnt in. On many occaſions, they actually cut this part of the face with an inſtrument; in the ſame manner as the people of Otaheite cut their heads. Wedneſ. 18.

This day, I beſtowed on Mareewagee ſome preſents, in return for thoſe we had received from him the day before;

1777. June. and as the entertainments which he had then exhibited for our amuſement, called upon us to make ſome exhibition in our way, I ordered the party of marines to go through their exerciſe, on the ſpot where his dances had been performed; and, in the evening, played off ſome fireworks at the ſame place. Poulaho, with all the principal Chiefs, and a great number of people, of all denominations, were preſent. The platoon firing, which was executed tolerably well, ſeemed to give them pleaſure; but they were loſt in aſtoniſhment when they beheld our water rockets. They paid but little attention to the fife and drum, or French horns, that played during the intervals. The king ſat behind every body, becauſe no one is allowed to ſit behind him; and, that his view might not be obſtructed, nobody ſat immediately before him; but a lane, as it were, was made by the people from him, quite down to the ſpace allotted for the fireworks.

In expectation of this evening ſhew, the circle of natives about our tent being pretty large, they engaged, the greateſt part of the afternoon, in boxing and wreſtling; the firſt of which exerciſes they call *fangatooa*, and the ſecond *foohoo*. When any of them chooſes to wreſtle, he gets up from one ſide of the ring, and croſſes the ground in a ſort of meaſured pace, clapping ſmartly on the elbow joint of one arm, which is bent, and produces a hollow ſound; that is reckoned the challenge. If no perſon comes out from the oppoſite ſide to engage him, he returns, in the ſame manner, and ſits down; but ſometimes ſtands clapping, in the midſt of the ground, to provoke ſome one to come out. If an opponent appear, they come together with marks of the greateſt good-nature, generally ſmiling, and taking time to adjuſt the piece of cloth which is faſtened round the waiſt.

1777. June.

They then lay hold of each other by this girdle, with a hand on each ſide; and he who ſucceeds in drawing his antagoniſt to him, immediately tries to lift him upon his breaſt, and throw him upon his back; and if he be able to turn round with him two or three times, in that poſition, before he throws him, his dexterity never fails of procuring plaudits from the ſpectators. If they be more equally matched, they cloſe ſoon, and endeavour to throw each other by entwining their legs, or lifting each other from the ground; in which ſtruggles they ſhew a prodigious exertion of ſtrength, every muſcle, as it were, being ready to burſt with ſtraining. When one is thrown, he immediately quits the field, but the victor ſits down for a few ſeconds, then gets up, and goes to the ſide he came from, who proclaim the victory aloud, in a ſentence delivered ſlowly, and in a muſical cadence. After ſitting a ſhort ſpace, he riſes again and challenges; when ſometimes ſeveral antagoniſts make their appearance; but he has the privilege of chooſing which of them he pleaſes to wreſtle with; and has, likewiſe, the preference of challenging again, if he ſhould throw his adverſary, until he himſelf be vanquiſhed; and then the oppoſite ſide ſing the ſong of victory in favour of their champion. It alſo often happens, that five or ſix riſe from each ſide, and challenge together; in which caſe, it is common to ſee three or four couple engaged on the field at once. But it is aſtoniſhing to ſee what temper they preſerve in this exerciſe; for we obſerved no inſtances of their leaving the ſpot, with the leaſt diſpleaſure in their countenances. When they find, that they are ſo equally matched as not to be likely to throw each other, they leave off by mutual conſent. And if the fall of one is not fair, or if it does not appear very clearly who has had the advantage, both

1777. June. both ſides ſing the victory, and then they engage again. But no perſon, who has been vanquiſhed, can engage with his conqueror a ſecond time.

The boxers advance ſide-ways, changing the ſide at every pace, with one arm ſtretched fully out before, the other behind; and holding a piece of cord in one hand, which they wrap firmly about it, when they find an antagoniſt, or elſe have done ſo before they enter. This, I imagine, they do, to prevent a diſlocation of the hand or fingers. Their blows are directed chiefly to the head; but ſometimes to the ſides; and are dealt out with great activity. They ſhift ſides, and box equally well with both hands. But one of their favourite and moſt dextrous blows, is, to turn round on their heel, juſt as they have ſtruck their antagoniſt, and to give him another very ſmart one with the other hand backward.

The boxing matches ſeldom laſt long; and the parties either leave off together, or one acknowledges his being beat. But they never ſing the ſong of victory in theſe caſes, unleſs one ſtrikes his adverſary to the ground; which ſhews, that, of the two, wreſtling is their moſt approved diverſion. Not only boys engage, in both the exerciſes, but frequently little girls box very obſtinately for a ſhort time. In all which caſes, it doth not appear, that they ever conſider it as the ſmalleſt diſgrace to be vanquiſhed; and the perſon overcome ſits down, with as much indifference, as if he had never entered the liſts. Some of our people ventured to contend with them in both exerciſes, but were always worſted; except in a few inſtances, where it appeared, that the fear they were in of offending us, contributed more to the victory, than the ſuperiority of the perſon they engaged.

The cattle, which we had brought, and which were all on ſhore, however carefully guarded, I was ſenſible, run no ſmall riſk, when I conſidered the thieviſh diſpoſition of many of the natives, and their dexterity in appropriating to themſelves by ſtealth, what they ſaw no proſpect of obtaining by fair means. For this reaſon I thought it prudent to declare my intention of leaving behind me ſome of our animals; and even to make a diſtribution of them previouſly to my departure. 1777. June.

With this view, in the evening of the 19th, I aſſembled all the Chiefs before our houſe, and my intended preſents to them were marked out. To Poulaho, the king, I gave a young Engliſh bull and cow; to Mareewagee, a Cape ram, and two ewes; and to Feenou, a horſe and a mare. As my deſign, to make ſuch a diſtribution, had been made known the day before, moſt of the people in the neighbourhood were then preſent. I inſtructed Omai to tell them, that there were no ſuch animals within many months ſail of their iſland; that we had brought them, for their uſe, from that immenſe diſtance, at a vaſt trouble and expence; that, therefore, they muſt be careful not to kill any of them, till they had multiplied to a numerous race; and, laſtly, that they and their children ought to remember, that they had received them from the men of *Britane*. He alſo explained to them their ſeveral uſes, and what elſe was neceſſary for them to know, or rather as far as he knew; for Omai was not very well verſed in ſuch things himſelf. As I intended that the above preſents ſhould remain with the other cattle, till we were ready to ſail, I deſired each of the Chiefs to ſend a man or two to look after their reſpective animals, along with my people, in order that they might be better acquainted with them, and with the manner Thurſday 19.

of

1777. June. of treating them. The king and Feenou did ſo; but neither Mareewagee, nor any other perſon for him, took the leaſt notice of the ſheep afterward; nor did old Toobou attend at this meeting, though he was invited, and was in the neighbourhood. I had meant to give him the goats, *viz.* a ram and two ewes; which, as he was ſo indifferent about them, I added to the king's ſhare.

Friday 20. It ſoon appeared, that ſome were diſſatisfied with this allotment of our animals; for, early next morning, one of our kids, and two turkey-cocks, were miſſing. I could not be ſo ſimple as to ſuppoſe, that this was merely an accidental loſs; and I was determined to have them again. The firſt ſtep I took was to ſeize on three canoes that happened to be along-ſide the ſhips. I then went aſhore, and, having found the king, his brother, Feenou, and ſome other Chiefs, in the houſe that we occupied, I immediately put a guard over them, and gave them to underſtand, that they muſt remain under reſtraint, till not only the kid and the turkeys, but the other things, that had been ſtolen from us, at different times, were reſtored. They concealed, as well as they could, their feelings, on finding themſelves priſoners; and, having aſſured me, that every thing ſhould be reſtored, as I deſired, ſat down to drink their *kava*, ſeemingly much at their eaſe. It was not long before an axe, and an iron wedge, were brought to me. In the mean time, ſome armed natives began to gather behind the houſe; but, on a part of our guard marching againſt them, they diſperſed; and I adviſed the Chiefs to give orders, that no more ſhould appear. Such orders were accordingly given by them, and they were obeyed. On aſking them to go aboard with me to dinner, they readily conſented. But ſome having afterward objected to the king's going, he inſtantly roſe up, and declared he would

would be the firſt man. Accordingly we came on board. I kept them there till near four o'clock, when I conducted them aſhore; and, ſoon after, the kid, and one of the turkey-cocks, were brought back. The other, they ſaid, ſhould be reſtored the next morning. I believed this would happen, and releaſed both them and the canoes. 1777. June.

After the Chiefs had left us, I walked out with Omai, to obſerve how the people about us fared; for this was the time of their meals. I found that, in general, they were at ſhort commons. Nor is this to be wondered at, ſince moſt of the yams, and other proviſions which they brought with them, were ſold to us; and they never thought of returning to their own habitations, while they could find any ſort of ſubſiſtence in our neighbourhood. Our ſtation was upon an uncultivated point of land; ſo that there were none of the iſlanders, who, properly, reſided within half a mile of us. But, even at this diſtance, the multitude of ſtrangers being ſo great, one might have expected, that every houſe would have been much crowded. It was quite otherwiſe. The families reſiding there were as much left to themſelves, as if there had not been a ſupernumerary viſiter near them. All the ſtrangers lived in little temporary ſheds, or under trees and buſhes; and the cocoa-trees were ſtripped of their branches, to erect habitations for the Chiefs.

In this walk we met with about half a dozen women, in one place, at ſupper. Two of the company, I obſerved, being fed by the others, on our aſking the reaſon, they ſaid *taboo mattee*. On farther inquiry we found, that one of them had, two months before, waſhed the dead corpſe of a Chief; and that, on this account, ſhe was not to handle any food for five months. The other had performed the

1777. June. same office to the corpse of another person of inferior rank, and was now under the same restriction; but not for so long a time. At another place, hard by, we saw another woman fed; and we learnt, that she had assisted in washing the corpse of the above-mentioned Chief.

Saturday 21. Early the next morning, the king came on board, to invite me to an entertainment, which he proposed to give the same day. He had already been under the barber's hands; his head being all besmeared with red pigment, in order to redden his hair, which was naturally of a dark brown colour. After breakfast, I attended him to the shore; and we found his people very busy, in two places, in the front of our area, fixing, in an upright and square position, thus [° ° ° °], four very long posts, near two feet from each other. The space between the posts was afterward filled up with yams; and as they went on filling it, they fastened pieces of sticks across, from post to post, at the distance of about every four feet; to prevent the posts from separating, by the weight of the inclosed yams, and also to get up by. When the yams had reached the top of the first posts, they fastened others to them, and so continued till each pile was the height of thirty feet, or upward. On the top of one, they placed two baked hogs; and on the top of the other, a living one; and another they tied by the legs, half-way up. It was matter of curiosity to observe, with what facility and dispatch these two piles were raised. Had our seamen been ordered to execute such a work, they would have sworn that it could not be performed without carpenters; and the carpenters would have called to their aid a dozen different sorts of tools, and have expended, at least, a hundred weight of nails; and, after all, it would have employed them as many days, as it did

theſe people hours. But ſeamen, like moſt other amphibious animals, are always the moſt helpleſs on land. After they had completed theſe two piles, they made ſeveral other heaps of yams and bread-fruit on each ſide of the area; to which were added a turtle, and a large quantity of excellent fiſh. All this, with a piece of cloth, a mat, and ſome red feathers, was the king's preſent to me; and he ſeemed to picque himſelf on exceeding, as he really did, Feenou's liberality, which I experienced at Hapace. 1777. June.

About one o'clock they began the *mai*, or dances; the firſt of which was almoſt a copy of the firſt that was exhibited at Mareewagee's entertainment. The ſecond was conducted by Captain Furneaux's Toobou, who, as we mentioned, had alſo danced there; and in this, four or five women were introduced, who went through the ſeveral parts with as much exactneſs as the men. Toward the end, the performers divided to leave room for two champions, who exercited their clubs, as deſcribed on a former occaſion. And, in the third dance, which was the laſt now preſented, two more men, with their clubs, diſplayed their dexterity. The dances were ſucceeded by wreſtling and boxing; and one man entered the liſts with a ſort of club, made from the ſtem of a cocoa-leaf, which is firm and heavy; but could find no antagoniſt to engage him at ſo rough a ſport. At night we had the *bomai* repeated; in which Poulaho himſelf danced, dreſſed in Engliſh manufacture. But neither theſe, nor the dances in the day-time, were ſo conſiderable, nor carried on with ſo much ſpirit, as Feenou's, or Mareewagee's; and, therefore, there is leſs occaſion to be more particular in our deſcription of them.

In order to be preſent the whole time, I dined aſhore. The king ſat down with us; but he neither eat nor drank.

1777. June. I found that this was owing to the preſence of a female, whom, at his deſire, I had admitted to the dining party; and who, as we afterward underſtood, had ſuperior rank to himſelf. As ſoon as this great perſonage had dined, ſhe ſtepped up to the king, who put his hands to her feet; and then ſhe retired. He immediately dipped his fingers into a glaſs of wine, and then received the obeiſance of all her followers. This was the ſingle inſtance we ever obſerved of his paying this mark of reverence to any perſon. At the king's deſire, I ordered ſome fireworks to be played off in the evening; but, unfortunately, being damaged, this exhibition did not anſwer expectation.

CHAP. VIII.

Some of the Officers plundered by the Natives.—A fiſhing Party.—A Viſit to Poulaho.—A Fiatooka deſcribed.—Obſervations on the Country Entertainment at Poulaho's Houſe.—His Mourning Ceremony.—Of the Kava Plant, and the Manner of preparing the Liquor.—Account of Onevy, a little Iſland.—One of the Natives wounded by a Sentinel.—Meſſrs. King and Anderſon viſit the King's Brother.—Their Entertainment.—Another Mourning Ceremony.—Manner of paſſing the Night.—Remarks on the Country they paſſed through.—Preparations made for ſailing.—An Eclipſe of the Sun, imperfectly obſerved.—Mr. Anderſon's Account of the Iſland, and its Productions.

AS no more entertainments were to be expected, on either ſide, and the curioſity of the populace was, by this time, pretty well ſatisfied; on the day after Poulaho's *haiva*, moſt of them left us. We ſtill, however, had thieves about us; and, encouraged by the negligence of our own people, we had continual inſtances of their depredations. 1777. June. Sunday 22.

Some of the officers, belonging to both ſhips, who had made an excurſion into the interior parts of the iſland, without my leave, and, indeed, without my knowledge, returned this evening, after an abſence of two days. They

1777. June. had taken with them their muſkets, with the neceſſary ammunition, and ſeveral ſmall articles of the favourite commodities; all which the natives had the dexterity to ſteal from them, in the courſe of their expedition. This affair was likely to be attended with inconvenient conſequences. For, our plundered travellers, upon their return, without conſulting me, employed Omai to complain to the king of the treatment they had met with. He, not knowing what ſtep I ſhould take, and, from what had already happened, fearing leſt I might lay him again under reſtraint, Monday 23. went off early the next morning. His example was followed by Feenou; ſo that we had not a Chief, of any authority, remaining in our neighbourhood. I was very much diſpleaſed at this, and reprimanded Omai for having preſumed to meddle. This reprimand put him upon his metal to bring his friend Feenou back; and he ſucceeded in the negociation; having this powerful argument to urge, that he might depend upon my uſing no violent meaſures to oblige the natives to reſtore what had been taken from the gentlemen. Feenou, truſting to this declaration, returned toward the evening; and, encouraged by his reception, Poulaho favoured us with his company the day after.

Tueſday 24. Both theſe Chiefs, upon this occaſion, very juſtly obſerved to me, that, if any of my people, at any time, wanted to go into the country, they ought to be acquainted with it; in which caſe they would ſend proper people along with them; and then they would be anſwerable for their ſafety. And I am convinced, from experience, that, by taking this very reaſonable precaution, a man and his property may be as ſafe among theſe iſlanders, as in other parts of the more civilized world. Though I gave myſelf no trouble about the recovery of the things ſtolen upon this occaſion, moſt of

of them, through Feenou's interpoſition, were recovered; except one muſket, and a few other articles of inferior value. By this time alſo, we had recovered the turkey-cock, and moſt of the tools, and other matters, that had been ſtolen from our workmen. 1777. June.

On the 25th, two boats, which I had ſent to look for a channel, by which we might, moſt commodiouſly, get to ſea, returned. The Maſters, who commanded them, reported, that the channel to the North, by which we came in, was highly dangerous, being full of coral rocks from one ſide to the other; but that, to the Eaſtward, there was a very good channel; which, however, was very much contracted, in one place, by the ſmall iſlands; ſo that a leading wind would be requiſite to get through it; that is, a Weſterly wind, which, we had found, did not often blow here. We had now recruited the ſhips with wood and water; we had finiſhed the repairs of our ſails; and had little more to expect from the inhabitants, of the produce of their iſland. However, as an eclipſe of the ſun was to happen upon the 5th of the next month, I reſolved to defer ſailing till that time had elapſed, in order to have a chance of obſerving it. Wedneſ. 25.

Having, therefore, ſome days of leiſure before me, a party of us, accompanied by Poulaho, ſet out, early next morning, in a boat, for Mooa, the village where he and the other great men uſually reſide. As we rowed up the inlet, we met with fourteen canoes fiſhing in company; in one of which was Poulaho's ſon. In each canoe was a triangular net, extended between two poles; at the lower end of which was a cod to receive and ſecure the fiſh. They had already caught ſome fine mullets; and they put about a dozen into Thurſday 26.

our

1777. June. our boat. I deſired to ſee their method of fiſhing; which they readily complied with. A ſhoal of fiſh was ſuppoſed to be upon one of the banks, which they inſtantly incloſed in a long net like a ſeine, or ſet-net. This the fiſhers, one getting into the water out of each boat, ſurrounded with the triangular nets in their hands; with which they ſcooped the fiſh out of the ſeine, or caught them as they attempted to leap over it. They ſhewed us the whole proceſs of this operation (which ſeemed to be a ſure one), by throwing in ſome of the fiſh they had already caught; for, at this time, there happened to be none upon the bank that was incloſed.

Leaving the prince and his fiſhing party, we proceeded to the bottom of the bay, and landed where we had done before, on our fruitleſs errand to ſee Mareewagee. As ſoon as we got on ſhore, the king deſired Omai to tell me, that I need be under no apprehenſions about the boat, or any thing in her, for not a ſingle article would be touched by any one; and we afterward found this to be the caſe. We were immediately conducted to one of Poulaho's houſes not far off, and near the public one, or *malaee*, in which we had been, when we firſt viſited Mooa. This, though pretty large, ſeemed to be his private habitation, and was ſituated within a plantation. The king took his ſeat at one end of the houſe, and the people, who came to viſit him, ſat down, as they arrived, in a ſemicircle at the other end. The firſt thing done, was to prepare a bowl of *kava*, and to order ſome yams to be baked for us. While theſe were getting ready, ſome of us, accompanied by a few of the king's attendants, and Omai as our interpreter, walked out to take a view of a *fiatooka*, or burying-place, which we had obſerved to be almoſt cloſe by the houſe, and was much more extenſive,

five, and ſeemingly of more conſequence, than any we had ſeen at the other iſlands. We were told, that it belonged to the king. It conſiſted of three pretty large houſes, ſituated upon a riſing ground, or rather juſt by the brink of it, with a ſmall one, at ſome diſtance, all ranged longitudinally. The middle houſe of the three firſt, was, by much, the largeſt, and placed in a ſquare, twenty-four paces by twenty-eight, raiſed about three feet. The other houſes were placed on little mounts, raiſed artificially to the ſame height. The floors of theſe houſes, as alſo the tops of the mounts round them, were covered with looſe, fine pebbles, and the whole was incloſed by large flat ſtones * of hard coral rock, properly hewn, placed on their edges; one of which ſtones meaſured twelve feet in length, two in breadth, and above one in thickneſs. One of the houſes, contrary to what we had ſeen before, was open on one ſide; and within it were two rude, wooden buſts of men; one near the entrance, and the other farther in. On inquiring of the natives, who had followed us to the ground, but durſt not enter here, What theſe images were intended for? they made us as ſenſible as we could wiſh, that they were merely memorials of ſome Chiefs who had been buried there, and not the repreſentations of any deity. Such monuments, it ſhould ſeem, are ſeldom raiſed; for theſe had, probably, been erected ſeveral ages ago. We were told, that the dead had been buried in each of theſe houſes; but no marks of this appeared. In one of them, was the carved head of an Otaheite canoe, which had been driven aſhore on their coaſt, and depoſited here. At the foot of the riſing ground, was a large area, or graſs-plot, with different trees planted about

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* The burying-places of the Chiefs at the Caroline Iſlands, are alſo incloſed in this manner. See *Lettres Edifiantes & Curieuſes*, Tom. xv. p. 309.

1777. June. it; amongſt which were ſeveral of thoſe called *etoa*, very large. Theſe, as they reſemble the cypreſs, had a fine effect in ſuch a place. There was, alſo, a row of low palms near one of the houſes, and behind it a ditch, in which lay a great number of old baſkets. Mr. Webber's drawing of this *fiatooka*, will ſupply the defects of my deſcription.

After dinner, or rather after we had refreſhed ourſelves with ſome proviſions which we had brought with us from our ſhip, we made an excurſion into the country, taking a pretty large circuit, attended by one of the king's miniſters. Our train was not great, as he would not ſuffer the rabble to follow us. He alſo obliged all thoſe whom we met upon our progreſs, to ſit down, till we had paſſed; which is a mark of reſpect due only to their Sovereigns. We found by far the greateſt part of the country cultivated, and planted with various ſorts of productions; and moſt of theſe plantations were fenced round. Some ſpots, where plantations had been formerly, now produced nothing, lying fallow; and there were places that had never been touched, but lay in a ſtate of nature; and, yet, even theſe were uſeful, in affording them timber, as they were generally covered with trees. We met with ſeveral large uninhabited houſes, which, we were told, belonged to the king. There were many public and well-beaten roads, and abundance of foot-paths leading to every part of the iſland. The roads being good, and the country level, travelling was very eaſy. It is remarkable, that when we were on the moſt elevated parts, at leaſt a hundred feet above the level of the ſea, we often met with the ſame coral rock, which is found at the ſhore, projecting above the ſurface, and perforated and cut into all thoſe inequalities which are uſually ſeen in rocks that lie within the waſh of the tide. And yet theſe very

very ſpots, with hardly any ſoil upon them, were covered with luxuriant vegetation. We were conducted to ſeveral little pools, and to ſome ſprings of water; but, in general, they were either ſtinking or brackiſh, though recommended to us by the natives as excellent. The former were, moſtly, inland, and the latter near the ſhore of the bay, and below high-water mark; ſo that tolerable water could be taken up from them, only when the tide was out. 1777. June.

When we returned from our walk, which was not till the duſk of the evening, our ſupper was ready. It conſiſted of a baked hog, ſome fiſh, and yams, all excellently well cooked, after the method of theſe iſlands. As there was nothing to amuſe us after ſupper, we followed the cuſtom of the country, and lay down to ſleep, our beds being mats ſpread upon the floor, and cloth to cover us. The king, who had made himſelf very happy with ſome wine and brandy which we had brought, ſlept in the ſame houſe, as well as ſeveral others of the natives. Long before day-break, he and they all roſe, and ſat converſing by moon-light. The converſation, as might well be gueſſed, turned wholly upon us; the king entertaining his company with an account of what he had ſeen, or remarked. As ſoon as it was day, they diſperſed, ſome one way, and ſome another; but it was not long before they all returned, and, with them, ſeveral more of their countrymen. Friday 27.

They now began to prepare a bowl of *kava*; and, leaving them ſo employed, I went to pay a viſit to Toobou, Captain Furneaux's friend, who had a houſe hard by, which, for ſize and neatneſs, was exceeded by few in the place. As I had left the others, ſo I found here a company, preparing a morning draught. This Chief made a preſent to me of a

1777. June. living hog, a baked one, a quantity of yams, and a large piece of cloth. When I returned to the king, I found him, and his circle of attendants, drinking the ſecond bowl of *kava*. That being emptied, he told Omai, that he was going preſently to perform a mourning ceremony, called *Tooge*, on account of a ſon who had been dead ſome time; and he deſired us to accompany him. We were glad of the opportunity, expecting to ſee ſomewhat new or curious.

The firſt thing the Chief did, was to ſtep out of the houſe, attended by two old women, and put on a new ſuit of clothes, or rather a new piece of cloth, and, over it, an old ragged mat, that might have ſerved his great grandfather, on ſome ſuch occaſion. His ſervants, or thoſe who attended him, were all dreſſed in the ſame manner, excepting that none of their mats could vie, in antiquity, with that of their maſter. Thus equipped, we marched off, preceded by about eight or ten perſons, all in the above habits of ceremony, each of them, beſides, having a ſmall green bough about his neck. Poulaho held his bough in his hand, till we drew near the place of rendezvous, when he alſo put it about his neck. We now entered a ſmall incloſure, in which was a neat houſe, and we found one man ſitting before it. As the company entered, they pulled off the green branches from round their necks, and threw them away. The king having firſt ſeated himſelf, the others ſat down before him, in the uſual manner. The circle increaſed, by others dropping in, to the number of a hundred or upward, moſtly old men, all dreſſed as above deſcribed. The company being completely aſſembled, a large root of *kava*, brought by one of the king's ſervants, was produced, and a bowl which contained four or five gallons. Several perſons now began to chew the root, and this bowl was made brimfull of liquor.

liquor. While it was preparing, others were employed in making drinking cups of plantain leaves. The firſt cup that was filled, was preſented to the king, and he ordered it to be given to another perſon. The ſecond was alſo brought to him, which he drank, and the third was offered to me. Afterward, as each cup was filled, the man who filled it, aſked, who was to have it? Another then named the perſon; and to him it was carried. As the bowl grew low, the man who diſtributed the liquor ſeemed rather at a loſs to whom cups of it ſhould be next ſent, and frequently conſulted thoſe who ſat near him. This mode of diſtribution continued, while any liquor remained; and though not half the company had a ſhare, yet no one ſeemed diſſatisfied. About half a dozen cups ſerved for all; and each, as it was emptied, was thrown down upon the ground, where the ſervants picked it up, and carried it to be filled again. During the whole time, the Chief and his circle ſat, as was uſually the caſe, with a great deal of gravity, hardly ſpeaking a word to each other. 1777. June.

We had long waited in expectation, each moment, of ſeeing the mourning ceremony begin; when, ſoon after the *kava* was drank out, to our great ſurprize and diſappointment, they all roſe up and diſperſed; and Poulaho told us, he was now ready to attend us to the ſhips. If this was a mourning ceremony, it was a ſtrange one. Perhaps, it was the ſecond, third, or fourth mourning; or, which was not very uncommon, Omai might have miſunderſtood what Poulaho ſaid to him. For, excepting the change of dreſs, and the putting the green bough round their necks, nothing ſeemed to have paſſed at this meeting, but what we ſaw them practiſe, too frequently, every day.

"We

1777. June.

* We had ſeen the drinking of *kava* ſometimes, at the other iſlands; but, by no means, ſo frequently as here, where it ſeems to be the only forenoon employment of the principal people. The *kava* is a ſpecies of pepper, which they cultivate for this purpoſe, and eſteem it a valuable article, taking great care to defend the young plants from any injury; and it is commonly planted about their houſes. It ſeldom grows to more than a man's height; though I have ſeen ſome plants almoſt double that. It branches conſiderably, with large heart-ſhaped leaves, and jointed ſtalks. The root is the only part that is uſed at the Friendly Iſlands, which, being dug up, is given to the ſervants that attend, who, breaking it in pieces, ſcrape the dirt off with a ſhell, or bit of ſtick; and then each begins and chews his portion, which he ſpits into a piece of plantain leaf. The perſon, who is to prepare the liquor, collects all theſe mouthfuls, and puts them into a large wooden diſh or bowl, adding as much water as will make it of a proper ſtrength. It is, then, well mixed up with the hands; and ſome looſe ſtuff, of which mats are made, is thrown upon the ſurface, which intercepts the fibrous part, and is wrung hard, to get as much liquid out from it, as is poſſible. The manner of diſtributing it need not be repeated. The quantity which is put into each cup, is commonly about a quarter of a pint. The immediate effect of this beverage is not perceptible on theſe people, who uſe it ſo frequently; but on ſome of ours, who ventured to try it, though ſo haſtily prepared, it had the ſame power as ſpirits have, in intoxicating them; or, rather, it produced that kind of ſtupefaction, which is

* The following account of *kava*, to the end of this paragraph, is inſerted from Mr. Anderſon's journal.

the conſequence of uſing opium, or other ſubſtances of that kind. It ſhould be obſerved, at the ſame time, that though theſe iſlanders have this liquor always freſh prepared, and I have ſeen them drink it ſeven times before noon, it is, nevertheleſs, ſo diſagreeable, or, at leaſt, ſeems ſo, that the greateſt part of them cannot ſwallow it without making wry faces, and ſhuddering afterward." 1777. June.

As ſoon as this mourning ceremony was over, we left Mooa, and ſet out to return to the ſhips. While we rowed down the *lagoon* or inlet, we met with two canoes coming in from fiſhing. Poulaho ordered them to be called alongſide our boat, and took from them every fiſh and ſhell they had got. He, afterward, ſtopped two other canoes, and ſearched them, but they had nothing. Why this was done, I cannot ſay; for we had plenty of proviſions in the boat. Some of this fiſh he gave to me; and his ſervants ſold the reſt on board the ſhip. As we proceeded down the inlet, we overtook a large ſailing canoe. Every perſon on board her, that was upon his legs when we came up, ſat down till we had paſſed; even the man who ſteered, though he could not manage the helm, except in a ſtanding poſture.

Poulaho, and others, having informed me, that there was ſome excellent water on Onevy, a little iſland, which lies about a league off the mouth of the inlet, and on the North ſide of the Eaſtern channel, we landed there, in order to taſte it. But I found it to be as brackiſh as moſt that we had met with. This iſland is quite in a natural ſtate, being only frequented as a fiſhing place, and has nearly the ſame productions as Palmerſton's Iſland, with ſome *etoa* trees. After leaving Onevy, where we dined, in our way to the ſhip, we took a view of a curious coral rock, which ſeems to have been thrown upon the

1777. June. the reef where it ſtands. It is elevated about ten or twelve feet above the ſurface of the ſea that ſurrounds it. The baſe it reſts upon, is not above one-third of the circumference of its projecting ſummit, which I judged to be about one hundred feet, and is covered with *etoa* and *pandanus* trees.

When we got on board the ſhip, I found that every thing had been quiet during my abſence, not a theft having been committed; of which Feenou, and Futtafaihe, the king's brother, who had undertaken the management of his countrymen, boaſted not a little. This ſhews what power the Chiefs have, when they have the will to execute it; which we were ſeldom to expect, ſince, whatever was ſtolen from us, generally, if not always, was conveyed to them.

The good conduct of the natives was of ſhort duration; Saturday 28. for, the next day, ſix or eight of them aſſaulted ſome of our people, who were ſawing planks. They were fired upon by the ſentry; and one was ſuppoſed to be wounded, and three others taken. Theſe I kept confined till night; and did not diſmiſs them without puniſhment. After this, they behaved with a little more circumſpection, and gave us much leſs trouble. This change of behaviour, was certainly occaſioned by the man being wounded; for, before, they had only been told of the effect of fire-arms, but now they had felt it. The repeated inſolence of the natives, had induced me to order the muſkets of the ſentries to be loaded with ſmall ſhot, and to authorize them to fire on particular occaſions. I took it for granted, therefore, that this man had only been wounded with ſmall ſhot. But Mr. King and Mr. Anderſon, in an excurſion into the country, met with him, and found indubitable marks of his having

been wounded, but not dangerouſly, with a muſket ball. I never could find out how this muſket happened to be charged with ball; and there were people enough ready to ſwear, that its contents were only ſmall ſhot. 1777. June.

Mr. Anderſon's account of the excurſion, juſt mentioned, will fill up an interval of two days, during which nothing of note happened, at the ſhips: "Mr. King and I went, on the 30th, along with Futtafaihe as viſiters to his houſe, which is at Mooa, very near that of his brother Poulaho. A ſhort time after we arrived, a pretty large hog was killed; which is done by repeated ſtrokes on the head. The hair was then ſcraped off, very dextrouſly, with the ſharp edge of pieces of ſplit bamboo; taking the entrails out at a large oval hole cut in the belly, by the ſame ſimple inſtrument. Before this, they had prepared an oven; which is a large hole dug in the earth, filled at the bottom with ſtones, about the ſize of the fiſt, over which a fire is made till they are red hot. They took ſome of theſe ſtones, wrapt up in leaves of the bread-fruit tree, and filled the hog's belly, ſtuffing in a quantity of leaves, to prevent their falling out, and putting a plug of the ſame kind in the *anus*. The carcaſe was then placed on ſome ſticks laid acroſs the ſtones, in a ſtanding poſture, and covered with a great quantity of plantain leaves. After which, they dug up the earth, all round; and having thus effectually cloſed the oven, the operation of baking required no farther interference. Monday 30.

In the mean time, we walked about the country, but met with nothing remarkable, except a *fiatooka* of one houſe, ſtanding on an artificial mount, at leaſt thirty feet high. A little on one ſide of it, was a pretty large open area; and, not far off, was a good deal of uncultivated ground; which, on inquiring, why it lay waſte; our guides ſeemed to ſay,

1777. June. belonged to the *fiatooka* (which was Poulaho's), and was not, by any means, to be touched. There was alſo, at no great diſtance, a number of *etooa* trees, on which clung vaſt numbers of the large *ternate* bats, making a diſagreeable noiſe. We could not kill any, at this time, for want of muſkets; but ſome, that were got at Annamooka, meaſured near three feet, when the wings were extended. On our returning to Futtafaihe's houſe, he ordered the hog, that had been dreſſed, to be produced, with ſeveral baſkets of baked yams, and ſome cocoa-nuts. But we found, that, inſtead of his entertaining us, we were to entertain him; the property of the feaſt being entirely transferred to us, as his gueſts, and we were to diſpoſe of it as we pleaſed. The ſame perſon who cleaned the hog in the morning, now cut it up (but not before we deſired him), in a very dexterous manner, with a knife of ſplit bamboo; dividing the ſeveral parts, and hitting the joints, with a quickneſs and ſkill that ſurprized us very much. The whole was ſet down before us, though at leaſt fifty pounds weight, until we took a ſmall piece away, and deſired, that they would ſhare the reſt amongſt the people ſitting round. But it was not without a great many ſcruples they did that at laſt; and then they aſked, what particular perſons they ſhould give it to. However, they were very well pleaſed, when they found, that it was not contrary to any cuſtom of ours; ſome carrying off the portion they had received, and others eating it upon the ſpot. It was with great difficulty, that we could prevail upon Futtafaihe himſelf to eat a ſmall bit.

After dinner, we went with him, and five or ſix people, his attendants, toward the place where Poulaho's mourning ceremony was tranſacted, the laſt time we were at Mooa; but we did not enter the incloſure. Every perſon who went

with us, had the mat tied over his cloth, and ſome leaves about the neck, as had been done on the former occaſion; and when we arrived at a large open boat-houſe, where a few people were, they threw away their leaves, ſat down before it, and gave their cheeks a few gentle ſtrokes with the fiſt; after which they continued ſitting, for about ten minutes, with a very grave appearance, and then diſperſed, without having ſpoken a ſingle word. This explained what Poulaho had mentioned about *Tooge*; though, from the operation only laſting a few ſeconds, he had not been obſerved to perform it. And this ſeems to be only a continuation of the mourning ceremony, by way of condolence. For, upon inquiring, on whoſe account it was now performed; we were told, that it was for a Chief who had died at Vavaoo, ſome time ago; that they had practiſed it ever ſince, and ſhould continue to do ſo, for a conſiderable time longer. 1777. June.

In the evening, we had a pig, dreſſed as the hog, with yams and cocoa-nuts, brought for ſupper; and Futtafaihe finding, that we did not like the ſcruples they had made before, to accept of any part of the entertainment, aſked us immediately to ſhare it, and give it to whom we pleaſed. When ſupper was over, abundance of cloth was brought for us to ſleep in; but we were a good deal diſturbed, by a ſingular inſtance of luxury, in which their principal men indulge themſelves; that of being beat while they are aſleep. Two women ſat by Futtafaihe, and performed this operation, which is called *tooge tooge*, by beating briſkly on his body and legs, with both fiſts, as on a drum, till he fell aſleep, and continuing it the whole night, with ſome ſhort intervals. When once the perſon is aſleep, they abate a little in the ſtrength and quickneſs of the beating; but reſume it, if they obſerve any appearance of his awaking. In the morning, we found

1777. June. that Futtafaihe's women relieved each other, and went to ſleep by turns. In any other country, it would be ſuppoſed, that ſuch a practice would put an end to all reſt; but here it certainly acts as an opiate; and is a ſtrong proof of what habit may effect. The noiſe of this, however, was not the only thing that kept us awake; for the people, who paſſed the night in the houſe, not only converſed amongſt each other frequently, as in the day; but all got up before it was light, and made a hearty meal on fiſh and yams, which were brought to them by a perſon, who ſeemed to know very well the appointed time for this nocturnal refreſhment.

July. Tueſday 1. Next morning we ſet out with Futtafaihe, and walked down the Eaſt ſide of the bay, to the point. The country, all along this ſide, is well cultivated; but, in general, not ſo much incloſed as at Mooa; and amongſt many other plantain fields that we paſſed, there was one at leaſt a mile long, which was in excellent order, every tree growing with great vigour. We found, that, in travelling, Futtafaihe exerciſed a power, though by no means wantonly, which pointed out the great authority of ſuch principal men; or is, perhaps, only annexed to thoſe of the royal family. For he ſent to one place for fiſh; to another for yams; and ſo on, at other places; and all his orders were obeyed with the greateſt readineſs, as if he had been abſolute maſter of the people's property. On coming to the point, the natives mentioned ſomething of one, who, they ſaid, had been fired at by ſome of our people; and, upon our wiſhing to ſee him, they conducted us to a houſe, where we found a man, who had been ſhot through the ſhoulder, but not dangerouſly; as the ball had entered a little above the inner part of the collar bone, and paſſed out obliquely backward.

We were ſure, from the ſtate of the wound, that he was the perſon who had been fired at by one of the ſentinels, three days before; though poſitive orders had been given, that none of them ſhould load their pieces with any thing but ſmall ſhot. We gave ſome directions to his friends how to manage the wound, to which no application had been made; and they ſeemed pleaſed, when we told them it would get well in a certain time. But, on our going away, they aſked us to ſend the wounded man ſome yams, and other things for food; and in ſuch a manner, that we could not help thinking they conſidered it to be our duty to ſupport him, till he ſhould get well. 1777. July.

In the evening we croſſed the bay to our ſtation, in a canoe, which Futtafaihe had exerciſed his prerogative in procuring, by calling to the firſt that paſſed by. He had alſo got a large hog at this place; and brought a ſervant from his houſe with a bundle of cloth, which he wanted us to take with us, as a preſent from him. But the boat being ſmall, we objected; and he ordered it to be brought over to us the next day."

I had prolonged my ſtay at this iſland, on account of the approaching eclipſe; but, on the 2d of July, on looking at the micrometer belonging to the board of longitude, I found ſome of the rack work broken, and the inſtrument uſeleſs till repaired; which there was not time to do before it was intended to be uſed. Preparing now for our departure, I got on board, this day, all the cattle, poultry, and other animals, except ſuch as were deſtined to remain. I had deſigned to leave a turkey-cock and hen; but having now only two of each undiſpoſed of, one of the hens, through the ignorance of one of my people, was ſtrangled, and Wedneſ. 2.

1777. July. and died upon the ſpot. I had brought three turkey-hens to theſe iſlands. One was killed, as above mentioned; and the other, by an uſeleſs dog belonging to one of the officers. Theſe two accidents put it out of my power to leave a pair here; and, at the ſame time, to carry the breed to Otaheite, for which iſland they were originally intended. I was ſorry, afterward, that I did not give the preference to Tongataboo, as the preſent would have been of more value there than at Otaheite; for the natives of the former iſland, I am perſuaded, would have taken more pains to multiply the breed.

Thurſday 3. The next day we took up our anchor, and moved the ſhips behind Pangimodoo, that we might be ready to take the advantage of the firſt favourable wind, to get through the narrows. The king, who was one of our company, this day, at dinner, I obſerved, took particular notice of the plates. This occaſioned me to make him an offer of one, either of pewter, or of earthen ware. He choſe the firſt; and then began to tell us the ſeveral uſes to which he intended to apply it. Two of them are ſo extraordinary, that I cannot omit mentioning them. He ſaid, that, whenever he ſhould have occaſion to viſit any of the other iſlands, he would leave this plate behind him at Tongataboo, as a ſort of repreſentative, in his abſence, that the people might pay it the ſame obeiſance they do to himſelf in perſon. He was aſked, what had been uſually employed for this purpoſe, before he got this plate; and we had the ſatisfaction of learning from him, that this ſingular honour had hitherto been conferred on a wooden bowl in which he waſhed his hands. The other extraordinary uſe to which he meant to apply it in the room of his wooden bowl, was to diſcover a thief. He ſaid, that, when any thing was ſtolen, and the thief

thief could not be found out, the people were all aſſembled together before him, when he waſhed his hands in water in this veſſel; after which it was cleaned, and then the whole multitude advanced, one after another, and touched it in the ſame manner that they touch his foot, when they pay him obeiſance. If the guilty perſon touched it, he died immediately upon the ſpot; not by violence, but by the hand of Providence; and if any one refuſed to touch it, his refuſal was a clear proof that he was the man. 1777. July.

In the morning of the 5th, the day of the eclipſe, the weather was dark and cloudy, with ſhowers of rain; ſo that we had little hopes of an obſervation. About nine o'clock the ſun broke out at intervals for about half an hour; after which it was totally obſcured, till within a minute or two of the beginning of the eclipſe. We were all at our teleſcopes, *viz.* Mr. Bayly, Mr. King, Captain Clerke, Mr. Bligh, and myſelf. I loſt the obſervation, by not having a dark glaſs at hand, ſuitable to the clouds that were continually paſſing over the ſun; and Mr. Bligh had not got the ſun into the field of his teleſcope; ſo that the commencement of the eclipſe was only obſerved by the other three gentlemen; and by them, with an uncertainty of ſeveral ſeconds, as follows: Saturday 5.

	H.	M.	S.	
By Mr. Bayly, at	11	46	23½	Apparent time.
Mr. King, at	11	46	28	
Capt. Clerke, at	11	47	5	

Mr. Bayly and Mr. King obſerved, with the achromatic teleſcopes, belonging to the board of longitude, of equal magnifying powers; and Captain Clerke obſerved with one of the reflectors. The ſun appeared at intervals, till about the middle of the eclipſe; after which it was ſeen no more during

1777. July. during the day; ſo that the end could not be obſerved. The diſappointment was of little conſequence, ſince the longitude was more than ſufficiently determined, independently of this eclipſe, by lunar obſervations, which will be mentioned hereafter.

As ſoon as we knew the eclipſe to be over, we packed up the inſtruments, took down the obſervatories, and ſent every thing on board that had not been already removed. As none of the natives had taken the leaſt notice or care of the three ſheep allotted to Mareewagee, I ordered them to be carried back to the ſhips. I was apprehenſive, that, if I had left them here, they run great riſk of being deſtroyed by dogs. That animal did not exiſt upon this iſland, when I firſt viſited it in 1773; but I now found they had got a good many, partly from the breed then left by myſelf, and partly from ſome, imported ſince that time, from an iſland not very remote, called Feejee. The dogs, however, at preſent, had not found their way into any of the Friendly Iſlands, except Tongataboo; and none but the Chiefs there had, as yet, got poſſeſſion of any.

Being now upon the eve of our departure from this iſland, I ſhall add ſome particulars about it, and its productions, for which I am indebted to Mr. Anderſon. And, having ſpent as many weeks there, as I had done days * when I viſited it in 1773; the better opportunities that now occurred, of gaining more accurate information, and the ſkill of that gentleman, in directing his inquiries, will, in ſome meaſure, ſupply the imperfection of my former account of this iſland.

" Amſterdam, Tongataboo, or (as the natives alſo very frequently called it) Tonga, is about twenty leagues in

* From the 4th to the 7th of October.

circuit,

circuit, ſomewhat oblong, though, by much, broadeſt at the Eaſt end; and its greateſt length from Eaſt to Weſt. The South ſhore, which I ſaw in 1773, is ſtraight, and conſiſts of coral rocks, eight or ten feet high, terminating perpendicularly, except in ſome places where it is interrupted by ſmall ſandy beaches; on which, at low water, a range of black rocks may be ſeen. The Weſt end is not above five or ſix miles broad, but has a ſhore ſomewhat like that of the South ſide; whereas the whole North ſide is environed with ſhoals and iſlands, and the ſhore within them low and ſandy. The Eaſt ſide or end is, moſt probably, like the South; as the ſhore begins to aſſume a rocky appearance, toward the North Eaſt point, though not above ſeven or eight feet high. 1777. July.

The iſland may, with the greateſt propriety, be called a low one, as the trees, on the Weſt part, where we now lay at anchor, only appeared; and the only eminent part, which can be ſeen from a ſhip, is the South Eaſt point; though many gently riſing and declining grounds are obſervable by one who is aſhore. The general appearance of the country does not afford that beautiful kind of landſcape that is produced from a variety of hills and valleys, lawns, rivulets, and caſcades; but, at the ſame time, it conveys to the ſpectator an idea of the moſt exuberant fertility, whether we reſpect the places improved by art, or thoſe ſtill in a natural ſtate; both which yield all their vegetable productions with the greateſt vigour, and perpetual verdure. At a diſtance, the ſurface ſeems entirely clothed with trees of various ſizes; ſome of which are very large. But, above the reſt, the tall cocoa-palms always raiſe their tufted heads; and are far from being the ſmalleſt ornament to any country that produces them. The *boogo*, which is a

1777. July. ſpecies of fig, with narrow pointed leaves, is the largeſt ſized tree of the iſland; and on the uncultivated ſpots, eſpecially toward the ſea, the moſt common buſhes and ſmall trees are the *pandanus;* ſeveral ſorts of *hibiſcus;* the *ſaitanoo,* mentioned more than once in the courſe of our voyage; and a few others. It ought alſo to be obſerved, that though the materials for forming grand landſcapes are wanting, there are many of what might, at leaſt, be called neat proſpects, about the cultivated grounds and dwelling-places; but, more eſpecially, about the *ſiatookas;* where ſometimes art, and ſometimes nature, has done much to pleaſe the eye.

From the ſituation of Tongataboo, toward the tropic, the climate is more variable, than in countries farther within that line; though, perhaps, that might be owing to the ſeaſon of the year, which was now the winter ſolſtice. The winds are, for the moſt part, from ſome point between South and Eaſt; and, when moderate, are commonly attended with fine weather. When they blow freſher, the weather is often cloudy, though open; and, in ſuch caſes, there is frequently rain. The wind ſometimes veers to the North Eaſt, North North Eaſt, or even North North Weſt, but never laſts long, nor blows ſtrong from thence; though it is commonly accompanied by heavy rain, and cloſe ſultry weather. The quick ſucceſſion of vegetables has been already mentioned; but I am not certain that the changes of weather, by which it is brought about, are conſiderable enough to make them perceptible to the natives as to their method of life, or rather that they ſhould be very ſenſible of the different ſeaſons. This, perhaps, may be inferred from the ſtate of their vegetable productions, which are never ſo much affected, with reſpect to the foliage, as to ſhed

that all at once; for every leaf is ſucceeded by another, as faſt as it falls; which cauſes that appearance of univerſal and continual ſpring found here. 1777. July.

The baſis of the iſland, as far as we know, is entirely a coral rock, which is the only ſort that preſents itſelf on the ſhore. Nor did we ſee the leaſt appearance of any other ſtone, except a few ſmall blue pebbles ſtrewed about the *ſiatookas*; and the ſmooth, ſolid black ſtone, ſomething like the *lapis lydius*, of which the natives make their hatchets. But theſe may, probably, have been brought from other iſlands in the neighbourhood; for a piece of ſlatey, iron-coloured ſtone was bought at one of them, which was never ſeen here. Though the coral projects in many places above the ſurface, the ſoil is, in general, of a conſiderable depth. In all cultivated places, it is, commonly, of a looſe, black colour; produced, ſeemingly, in a great meaſure, from the rotten vegetables that are planted there. Underneath which is, very probably, a clayey *ſtratum*; for a ſoil of that kind is often ſeen both in the low, and in the riſing grounds; but eſpecially in ſeveral places toward the ſhore, where it is of any height; and, when broken off, appears ſometimes of a reddiſh, though oftener of a browniſh yellow colour, and of a pretty ſtiff conſiſtence. Where the ſhore is low, the ſoil is commonly ſandy, or rather compoſed of triturated coral; which, however, yields buſhes growing with great luxuriance; and is ſometimes planted, not unſucceſsfully, by the natives.

Of cultivated fruits, the principal are plantains; of which they have fifteen different ſorts or varieties; bread-fruit; two ſorts of fruit found at Otaheite, and known there under the names of *jambu* and *eeevee*; the latter a kind of

1777. July. plumb; and vaſt numbers of ſhaddocks, which, however, are found as often in a natural ſtate, as planted.

The roots are yams, of which are two ſorts; one black, and ſo large, that it often weighs twenty or thirty pounds; the other white, and long, ſeldom weighing a pound; a large root, called *kappe;* one not unlike our white potatoes, called *mawhaha*; the *talo*, or *coccos* of other places; and another, named *jeejee.*

Beſides vaſt numbers of cocoa-nut trees, they have three other ſorts of palms, two of which are very ſcarce. One of them is called *beeoo;* which grows almoſt as high as the cocoa-tree, has very large leaves plaited like a fan, and cluſters or bunches of globular nuts, not larger than a ſmall piſtol ball, growing amongſt the branches, with a very hard kernel, which is ſometimes eat. The other is a kind of cabbage-tree, not diſtinguiſhable from the cocoa, but by being rather thicker, and by having its leaves more ragged. It has a cabbage three or four feet long; at the top of which are the leaves, and at the bottom the fruit, which is ſcarcely two inches long, reſembling an oblong cocoa-nut, with an inſipid tenacious kernel, called, by the natives, *neeoogoola*, or red cocoa-nut, as it aſſumes a reddiſh caſt when ripe. The third ſort is called *ongo ongo*, and much commoner, being generally found planted about their *fiatookas*. It ſeldom grows higher than five feet, though ſometimes to eight; and has a vaſt number of oval compreſſed nuts, as large as a pippin, ſticking immediately to the trunk, amongſt the leaves, which are not eat. There is plenty of excellent ſugar-cane, which is cultivated; gourds; bamboo; turmeric; and a ſpecies of fig, about the ſize of a ſmall cherry, called *matte*, which, though wild, is ſometimes eat. But the catalogue

talogue of uncultivated plants is too large to be enumerated here. Beſides the *pemphis decaſpermum*, *mallococca*, *maba*, and ſome other new *genera*, deſcribed by Dr. Foſter *, there are a few more found here; which, perhaps, the different ſeaſons of the year, and his ſhort ſtay, did not give him an opportunity to take notice of. Although it did not appear, during our longer ſtay, that above a fourth part of the trees, and other plants, were in flower; a circumſtance abſolutely neceſſary, to enable one to diſtinguiſh the various kinds. 1777. July.

The only quadrupeds, beſides hogs, are a few rats, and ſome dogs, which are not natives of the place, but produced from ſome left by us in 1773, and by others got from Feejee. Fowls, which are of a large breed, are domeſticated here.

Amongſt the birds, are parrots, ſomewhat ſmaller than the common grey ones, of an indifferent green on the back and wings, the tail bluiſh, and the reſt of a ſooty or chocolate brown; parroquets, not larger than a ſparrow, of a fine yellowiſh green, with bright azure on the crown of the head, and the throat and belly red; beſides another ſort as large as a dove, with a blue crown and thighs, the throat and under part of the head crimſon, as alſo part of the belly, and the reſt a beautiful green.

There are owls about the ſize of our common ſort, but of a finer plumage; the cuckoos, mentioned at Palmerſton's Iſland; king-fiſhers, about the ſize of a thruſh, of a greeniſh blue, with a white ring about the neck; and a bird of the thruſh kind, almoſt as big, of a dull green colour, with two yellow wattles at the baſe of the bill, which is the only ſinging one we obſerved here; but it compenſates a good deal

* See his *Characteres Generum Plantarum*. Lond. 1776.

for

1777. July. for the want of others by the ſtrength and melody of its notes, which fill the woods at dawn, in the evening, and at the breaking up of bad weather.

The other land birds are rails, as large as a pigeon, of a variegated grey colour, with a ruſty neck; a black ſort with red eyes, not larger than a lark; large violet-coloured coots, with red bald crowns; two ſorts of fly-catchers; a very ſmall ſwallow; and three ſorts of pigeons, one of which is *le ramier cuivre* of Monſ. Sonnerat *; another, half the ſize of the common ſort, of a light green on the back and wings, with a red forehead; and a third, ſomewhat leſs, of a purple brown, but whitiſh underneath.

Of water-fowl, and ſuch as frequent the ſea, are the ducks ſeen at Annamooka, though ſcarce here; blue and white herons; tropic birds; common noddies; white terns; a new ſpecies of a leaden colour, with a black creſt; a ſmall bluiſh curlew; and a large plover, ſpotted with yellow. Beſides the large bats, mentioned before, there is alſo the common ſort.

The only noxious or diſguſting animals of the reptile or inſect tribe, are ſea ſnakes, three feet long, with black and white circles alternately, often found on ſhore; ſome ſcorpions, and *centipedes*. There are fine green *guanoes*, a foot and a half long; another brown and ſpotted lizard, about a foot long; and two other ſmall ſorts. Amongſt the other inſects are ſome beautiful moths; butterflies; very large ſpiders; and others; making, in the whole, about fifty different ſorts.

The ſea abounds with fiſh, though the variety is leſs than might be expected. The moſt frequent ſorts are mullets;

* *Voyage à la Nouvelle Guinée*, Tab. CII.

ſeveral

ſeveral ſorts of parrot-fiſh; ſilver fiſh; old wives; ſome beautifully ſpotted ſoles; leather-jackets; bonnetos; and albicores; beſides the eels mentioned at Palmerſton's Iſland; ſome ſharks; rays; pipe-fiſh; a ſort of pike; and ſome curious devil-fiſh. 1777. July.

The many reefs and ſhoals on the North ſide of the iſland, afford ſhelter for an endleſs variety of ſhell-fiſh; amongſt which are many that are eſteemed precious in Europe. Such as the true hammer oyſter; of which, however, none could be obtained entire; a large indentated oyſter, and ſeveral others; but none of the common ſort; panamas; cones; a ſort of gigantic cockle, found alſo in the Eaſt Indies; pearl ſhell oyſters; and many others; ſeveral of which, I believe, have been hitherto unknown to the moſt diligent inquirers after that branch of natural hiſtory. There are, likewiſe, ſeveral ſorts of ſea eggs; and many very fine ſtar-fiſh; beſides a conſiderable variety of corals; amongſt which are two red ſorts; the one moſt elegantly branched, the other tubulous. And there is no leſs variety amongſt the crabs and cray fiſh, which are very numerous. To which may be added, ſeveral ſorts of ſponge; the ſea hare, *holothuriæ*, and the like."

CHAP.

CHAP. IX.

A grand Solemnity, called NATCHE, *in Honour of the King's Son, performed.—The Proceſſions and other Ceremonies, during the firſt Day, deſcribed.—The Manner of paſſing the Night at the King's Houſe.—Continuation of the Solemnity, the next Day.—Conjectures about the Nature of it.—Departure from Tongataboo, and Arrival at Eooa.—Account of that Iſland, and Tranſactions there.*

1777. July. Sunday 6. WE were now ready to ſail; but the wind being Eaſterly, we had not ſufficient day light to turn through the narrows, either with the morning, or with the evening flood; the one falling out too early, and the other too late. So that, without a leading wind, we were under a neceſſity of waiting two or three days.

I took the opportunity of this delay, to be preſent at a public ſolemnity, to which the king had invited us, when we went laſt to viſit him, and which, he had informed us, was to be performed on the 8th. With a view to this, he and all the people of note, quitted our neighbourhood on Monday 7. the 7th, and repaired to Mooa, where the ſolemnity was to Tueſday 8. be exhibited. A party of us followed them, the next morning. We underſtood, from what Poulaho had ſaid to us, that his ſon and heir was now to be initiated into certain

privileges; amongſt which was, that of eating with his father; an honour he had not, as yet, been admitted to. 1777. July.

We arrived at Mooa about eight o'clock, and found the king, with a large circle of attendants ſitting before him, within an incloſure ſo ſmall and dirty, as to excite my wonder that any ſuch could be found in that neighbourhood. They were intent upon their uſual morning occupation, in preparing a bowl of *kava*. As this was no liquor for us, we walked out to viſit ſome of our friends, and to obſerve what preparations might be making for the ceremony, which was ſoon to begin. About ten o'clock, the people began to aſſemble, in a large area, which is before the *malaee*, or great houſe, to which we had been conducted the firſt time we viſited Mooa. At the end of a road, that opens into this area, ſtood ſome men with ſpears and clubs, who kept conſtantly reciting, or chanting, ſhort ſentences, in a mournful tone, which conveyed ſome idea of diſtreſs, and as if they called for ſomething. This was continued about an hour; and, in the mean time, many people came down the road, each of them bringing a yam, tied to the middle of a pole, which they laid down, before the perſons who continued repeating the ſentences. While this was going on, the king and prince arrived, and ſeated themſelves upon the area; and we were deſired to ſit down by them, but to pull off our hats, and to untie our hair. The bearers of the yams being all come in, each pole was taken up between two men, who carried it over their ſhoulders. After forming themſelves into companies, of ten or twelve perſons each, they marched acroſs the place, with a quick pace; each company, headed by a man bearing a club or ſpear, and guarded, on the right, by ſeveral others, armed with different weapons. A man carrying a living pigeon on a perch, cloſed the rear of the

1777. July. proceſſion, in which about two hundred and fifty perſons walked.

Omai was deſired by me, to aſk the Chief, to what place the yams were to be thus carried, with ſo much ſolemnity? but, as he ſeemed unwilling to give us the information we wanted, two or three of us followed the proceſſion, contrary to his inclination. We found, that they ſtopped before a *morai* or *fiatooka* * of one houſe ſtanding upon a mount, which was hardly a quarter of a mile from the place where they firſt aſſembled. Here we obſerved them depoſiting the yams, and making them up into bundles; but for what purpoſe, we could not learn. And; as our preſence ſeemed to give them uneaſineſs, we left them, and returned to Poulaho, who told us, we might amuſe ourſelves by walking about, as nothing would be done for ſome time. The fear of loſing any part of the ceremony, prevented our being long abſent. When we returned to the king, he deſired me to order the boat's crew not to ſtir from the boat; for, as every thing would, very ſoon, be *taboo*, if any of our people, or of their own, ſhould be found walking about, they would be knocked down with clubs; nay *mateed*, that is, killed. He alſo acquainted us, that we could not be preſent at the ceremony; but that we ſhould be conducted to a place, where we might ſee every thing that paſſed. Objections were made to our dreſs. We were told, that, to qualify us to be preſent, it was neceſſary that we ſhould be naked as low as the breaſt, with our hats off, and our hair untied. Omai offered to conform to theſe requiſites, and began to ſtrip; other objections were then ſtarted; ſo that the excluſion was given to him equally with ourſelves.

* This is the *fiatooka* mentioned above by Mr. Anderſon, p. 321.

I did not much like this reſtriction; and, therefore, ſtole out, to ſee what might now be going forward. I found very few people ſtirring, except thoſe dreſſed to attend the ceremony; ſome of whom had in their hands ſmall poles, about four feet long, and to the under-part of theſe were faſtened two or three other ſticks, not bigger than one's finger, and about ſix inches in length. Theſe men were going toward the *morai* juſt mentioned. I took the ſame road, and was, ſeveral times, ſtopped by them, all crying out *taboo*. However, I went forward, without much regarding them, till I came in ſight of the *morai*, and of the people who were ſitting before it. I was now urged, very ſtrongly, to go back; and, not knowing what might be the conſequence of a refuſal, I complied. I had obſerved, that the people, who carried the poles, paſſed this *morai*, or what I may, as well, call temple; and gueſſing, from this circumſtance, that ſomething was tranſacting beyond it, which might be worth looking at, I had thoughts of advancing, by making a round, for this purpoſe; but I was ſo cloſely watched by three men, that I could not put my deſign in execution. In order to ſhake theſe fellows off, I returned to the *malaee*, where I had left the king, and, from thence, made an elopement a ſecond time; but I inſtantly met with the ſame three men; ſo that it ſeemed, as if they had been ordered to watch my motions. I paid no regard to what they ſaid or did, till I came within ſight of the king's principal *fiatooka* or *morai*, which I have already deſcribed*, before which a great number of men were ſitting, being the ſame perſons whom I had juſt before ſeen paſs by the other *morai*, from which this was but a little diſtant. Obſerving, that I could watch the proceedings of this company from the

1777. July.

* See p. 313.

1777. July. king's plantation, I repaired thither, very much to the ſatisfaction of thoſe who attended me.

As ſoon as I got in, I acquainted the gentlemen who had come with me from the ſhips, with what I had ſeen; and we took a proper ſtation, to watch the reſult. The number of people, at the *fiatooka*, continued to increaſe for ſome time; and, at length, we could ſee them quit their ſitting poſture, and march off in proceſſion. They walked in pairs, one after another, every pair carrying, between them, one of the ſmall poles above-mentioned, on their ſhoulders. We were told, that the ſmall pieces of ſticks, faſtened to the poles, were yams; ſo that, probably, they were meant to repreſent this root emblematically. The hindmoſt men of each couple, for the moſt part, placed one of his hands to the middle of the pole, as if, without this additional ſupport, it were not ſtrong enough to carry the weight that hung to it, and under which they all ſeemed to bend, as they walked. This proceſſion conſiſted of one hundred and eight pairs, and all, or moſt of them, men of rank. They came cloſe by the fence behind which we ſtood; ſo that we had a full view of them.

Having waited here, till they had all paſſed, we then repaired to Poulaho's houſe, and ſaw him going out. We could not be allowed to follow him; but were, forthwith, conducted to the place allotted to us, which was behind a fence, adjoining to the area of the *fiatooka* where the yams had been depoſited in the forenoon. As we were not the only people who were excluded from being publicly preſent at this ceremony, but allowed to peep from behind the curtain, we had a good deal of company; and I obſerved, that all the other incloſures, round the place, were filled with

people. And, yet, all imaginable care ſeemed to be taken, that they ſhould ſee as little as poſſible; for the fences had not only been repaired that morning, but, in many places, raiſed higher than common; ſo that the talleſt man could not look over them. To remedy this defect in our ſtation, we took the liberty to cut holes in the fence, with our knives; and, by this means, we could ſee, pretty diſtinctly, every thing that was tranſacting on the other ſide. 1777. July.

On our arrival at our ſtation, we found two or three hundred people, ſitting on the graſs, near the end of the road that opened into the area of the *morai*; and the number continually increaſed, by others joining them. At length, arrived a few men carrying ſome ſmall poles, and branches or leaves of the cocoa-nut tree; and, upon their firſt appearance, an old man ſeated himſelf in the road, and, with his face toward them, pronounced a long oration in a ſerious tone. He then retired back, and the others advancing to the middle of the area, began to erect a ſmall ſhed; employing, for that purpoſe, the materials above-mentioned. When they had finiſhed their work, they all ſquatted down, for a moment, before it, then roſe up, and retired to the reſt of the company. Soon after, came Poulaho's ſon, preceded by four or five men, and they ſeated themſelves a little aſide from the ſhed, and rather behind it. After them, appeared twelve or fourteen women of the firſt rank, walking ſlowly in pairs, each pair carrying between them, a narrow piece of white cloth extended, about two or three yards in length. Theſe marched up to the prince, ſquatted down before him; and, having wrapped ſome of the pieces of the cloth they had brought, round his body, they roſe up, and retired in the ſame order, to ſome diſtance on his left, and there ſeated themſelves. Poulaho himſelf ſoon made his appearance,

preceded

1777. July. preceded by four men, who walked two and two abreaſt, and ſat down on his ſon's left hand, about twenty paces from him. The young prince, then, quitting his firſt poſition, went and ſat down under the ſhed, with his attendants; and a conſiderable number more placed themſelves on the graſs, before this royal canopy. The prince himſelf ſat facing the people, with his back to the *morai*. This being done, three companies, of ten or a dozen men in each, ſtarted up from amongſt the large crowd, a little after each other, and running haſtily to the oppoſite ſide of the area, ſat down for a few ſeconds; after which, they returned, in the ſame manner, to their former ſtations. To them ſucceeded two men, each of whom held a ſmall green branch in his hand, who got up and approached the prince, ſitting down, for a few ſeconds, three different times, as they advanced; and then, turning their backs, retired in the ſame manner, inclining their branches to each other as they ſat. In a little time, two more repeated this ceremony.

The grand proceſſion, which I had ſeen march off from the other *morai*, now began to come in. To judge of the circuit they had made, from the time they had been abſent, it muſt have been pretty large. As they entered the area, they marched up to the right of the ſhed, and, having proſtrated themſelves on the graſs, depoſited their pretended burthens (the poles above-mentioned), and faced round to the prince. They then roſe up, and retired in the ſame order, cloſing their hands, which they held before them, with the moſt ſerious aſpect, and ſeated themſelves along the front of the area. During all the time that this numerous band were coming in, and depoſiting their poles, three men, who ſat under the ſhed, with the prince, continued pronouncing

ſeparate

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ſeparate ſentences, in a melancholy tone. After this, a profound ſilence enſued, for a little time, and then a man, who ſat in the front of the area, began an oration (or prayer), during which, at ſeveral different times, he went and broke one of the poles, which had been brought in by thoſe who had walked in proceſſion. When he had ended, the people, ſitting before the ſhed, ſeparated, to make a lane, through which the prince and his attendants paſſed, and the aſſembly broke up.

Some of our party, ſatisfied with what they had already ſeen, now returned to the ſhips; but I, and two or three more of the officers, remained at Mooa, to ſee the concluſion of the ſolemnity, which was not to be till the next day; being deſirous of omitting no opportunity, which might afford any information about the religious or the political inſtitutions of this people. The ſmall ſticks or poles, which had been brought into the area, by thoſe who walked in proceſſion, being left lying on the ground, after the crowd had diſperſed, I went and examined them. I found, that to the middle of each, two or three ſmall ſticks were tied, as has been related. Yet we had been repeatedly told by the natives, who ſtood near us, that they were young yams; inſomuch that ſome of our gentlemen believed them, rather than their own eyes. As I had the demonſtration of my ſenſes to ſatisfy me, that they were not real yams, it is clear, that we ought to have underſtood them, that they were only the artificial repreſentations of theſe roots.

Our ſupper was got ready about ſeven o'clock. It conſiſted of fiſh and yams. We might have had pork alſo; but we did not chooſe to kill a large hog, which the king had given to us for that purpoſe. He ſupped with us, and drank pretty freely of brandy and water; ſo that he went to bed with

1777. July. with a ſufficient doſe. We paſſed the night in the ſame houſe with him, and ſeveral of his attendants.

Wedneſ. 9. About one or two o'clock in the morning they waked, and converſed for about an hour, and then went to ſleep again. All, but Poulaho himſelf, roſe at day-break, and went, I know not whither. Soon after, a woman, one of thoſe who generally attended upon the Chief, came in, and inquired where he was. I pointed him out to her; and ſhe immediately ſat down by him, and began the ſame operation, which Mr. Anderſon had ſeen practiſed upon Futtafaihe, tapping or beating gently, with her clinched fiſts, on his thighs. This, inſtead of prolonging his ſleep, as was intended, had the contrary effect; however, though he awaked, he continued to lie down.

Omai, and I, now went to viſit the prince, who had parted from us early in the evening. For he did not lodge with the king; but in apartments of his own, or, at leaſt, ſuch as had been allotted to him, at ſome diſtance from his father's houſe. We found him with a circle of boys, or youths, about his own age, ſitting before him; and an old woman, and an old man, who ſeemed to have the care of him, ſitting behind. There were others, both men and women, employed about their neceſſary affairs, in different departments; who, probably, belonged to his houſehold.

From the prince we returned to the king. By this time he had got up, and had a crowded circle before him, compoſed chiefly of old men. While a large bowl of *kava* was preparing, a baked hog and yams, ſmoking hot, were brought in; the greateſt part of which fell to our ſhare, and was very acceptable to the boat's crew: for theſe people

eat

eat very little in a morning; eſpecially the *kava* drinkers. I afterward walked out, and viſited ſeveral other Chiefs; and found, that all of them were taking their morning draught, or had already taken it. Returning to the king, I found him aſleep in a ſmall retired hut, with two women tapping on his breech. About eleven o'clock he aroſe again; and then ſome fiſh and yams, which taſted as if they had been ſtewed in cocoa-nut milk, were brought to him. Of theſe he eat a large portion, and lay down once more to ſleep. I now left him, and carried to the prince a preſent of cloth, beads, and other articles, which I had brought with me from the ſhip for the purpoſe. There was a ſufficient quantity of cloth to make him a complete ſuit; and he was immediately decked out with it. Proud of his dreſs, he firſt went to ſhew himſelf to his father; and then conducted me to his mother; with whom were about ten or a dozen other women of a reſpectable appearance. Here the prince changed his apparel, and made me a preſent of two pieces of the cloth manufactured in the iſland. By this time, it was paſt noon, when, by appointment, I repaired to the palace to dinner. Several of our gentlemen had returned, this morning, from the ſhips; and we were all invited to the feaſt, which was preſently ſerved up, and conſiſted of two pigs and yams. I rouſed the drowſy monarch, to partake of what he had provided for our entertainment. In the mean time, two mullets, and ſome ſhell-fiſh, were brought to him, as I ſuppoſed, for his ſeparate portion. But he joined it to our fare, ſat down with us, and made a hearty meal. 1777. July.

When dinner was over, we were told that the ceremony would ſoon begin; and were ſtrictly enjoined not to walk out. I had reſolved, however, to peep no longer

1777. July. from behind the curtain, but to mix with the actors themſelves, if poſſible. With this view, I ſtole out from the plantation, and walked toward the *morai*, the ſcene of the ſolemnity. I was, ſeveral times, deſired to go back, by people whom I met; but I paid no regard to them; and they ſuffered me to paſs on. When I arrived at the *morai*, I found a number of men ſeated on the ſide of the area, on each ſide of the road that leads up to it. A few were ſitting on the oppoſite ſide of the area; and two men in the middle of it, with their faces turned to the *morai*. When I got into the midſt of the firſt company, I was deſired to ſit down; which I accordingly did. Where I ſat, there were lying a number of ſmall bundles or parcels, compoſed of cocoa-nut leaves, and tied to ſticks made into the form of hand-barrows. All the information I could get about them was, that they were *taboo*. Our number kept continually increaſing; every one coming from the ſame quarter. From time to time, one or another of the company turned himſelf to thoſe who were coming to join us, and made a ſhort ſpeech; in which I could remark that the word *arekee*, that is King, was generally mentioned. One man ſaid ſomething that produced burſts of hearty laughter from all the crowd; others, of the ſpeakers, met with public applauſe. I was, ſeveral times, deſired to leave the place; and, at laſt, when they found that I would not ſtir, after ſome ſeeming conſultation, they applied to me to uncover my ſhoulders as theirs were. With this requeſt I complied; and then they ſeemed to be no longer uneaſy at my preſence.

I ſat a full hour, without any thing more going forward, beſide what I have mentioned. At length the prince, the women, and the king, all came in, as they had done the day before. The prince, being placed under the ſhed, after his

his father's arrival, two men, each carrying a piece of mat, came, repeating ſomething ſeriouſly, and put them about him. The aſſembled people now began their operations; and firſt, three companies ran backward and forward acroſs the area, as deſcribed in the account of the proceedings of the former day. Soon after, the two men, who ſat in the middle of the area, made a ſhort ſpeech or prayer; and then the whole body, amongſt whom I had my place, ſtarted up, and ran and ſeated themſelves before the ſhed under which the prince, and three or four men, were ſitting. I was now partly under the management of one of the company, who ſeemed very aſſiduous to ſerve me. By his means, I was placed in ſuch a ſituation, that, if I had been allowed to make uſe of my eyes, nothing that paſſed could have eſcaped me. But it was neceſſary to ſit with down-caſt looks, and demure as maids. 1777. July.

Soon after, the proceſſion came in, as on the day before; each two perſons bearing on their ſhoulders a pole, round the middle of which, a cocoa-nut leaf was plaited. Theſe were depoſited with ceremonies ſimilar to thoſe obſerved on the preceding day. This firſt proceſſion was followed by a ſecond; the men compoſing which, brought baſkets, ſuch as are uſually employed by this people to carry proviſions in, and made of palm leaves. Theſe were followed by a third proceſſion, in which were brought different kinds of ſmall fiſh; each fixed at the end of a forked ſtick. The baſkets were carried up to an old man, whom I took to be the Chief Prieſt, and who ſat on the prince's right-hand, without the ſhed. He held each in his hand, while he made a ſhort ſpeech or prayer; then laid it down, and called for another, repeating the ſame words as before; and thus he went through the whole number of baſkets. The fiſh were

1777. July. preſented, one by one, on the forked ſticks, as they came in, to two men, who ſat on the left; and who, till now, held green branches in their hands. The firſt fiſh they laid down on their right, and the ſecond on their left. When the third was preſented, a ſtout looking man, who ſat behind the other two, reached his arm over between them, and made a ſnatch at it; as alſo did the other two, at the very ſame time. Thus they ſeemed to contend for every fiſh that was preſented; but as there were two hands againſt one, beſides the advantage of ſituation, the man behind got nothing but pieces; for he never quitted his hold, till the fiſh was torn out of his hand; and what little remained in it, he ſhook out behind him. The others laid what they got, on the right and left alternately. At length, either by accident or deſign, the man behind got poſſeſſion of a whole fiſh, without either of the other two ſo much as touching it. At this, the word *mareeai*, which ſignifies *very good*, or *well done*, was uttered in a low voice throughout the whole crowd. It ſeemed, that he had performed now all that was expected from him; for he made no attempt upon the few fiſh that came after. Theſe fiſh, as alſo the baſkets, were all delivered, by the perſons who brought them in, ſitting; and, in the ſame order and manner, the ſmall poles, which the firſt proceſſion carried, had been laid upon the ground.

The laſt proceſſion being cloſed, there was ſome ſpeaking or praying, by different perſons. Then, on ſome ſignal being given, we all ſtarted up, ran ſeveral paces to the left, and ſat down with our backs to the prince, and the few who remained with him. I was deſired not to look behind me. However, neither this injunction, nor the remembrance of Lot's wife, diſcouraged me from facing about.

I now ſaw that the prince had turned his face to the *morai*. But this laſt movement had brought ſo many people between him and me, that I could not perceive what was doing. I was afterward aſſured, that, at this very time, the prince was admitted to the high honour of eating with his father; which, till now, had never been permitted to him; a piece of roaſted yam being preſented to each of them for this purpoſe. This was the more probable, as we had been told, before-hand, that this was to happen during the ſolemnity; and as all the people turned their backs to them, at this time, which they always do when their monarch eats. 1777. July.

After ſome little time, we all faced about, and formed a ſemicircle before the prince, leaving a large open ſpace between us. Preſently there appeared ſome men coming toward us, two and two, bearing large ſticks, or poles, upon their ſhoulders, making a noiſe that might be called ſinging, and waving their hands as they advanced. When they had got cloſe up to us, they made a ſhew of walking very faſt, without proceeding a ſingle ſtep. Immediately after, three or four men ſtarted up from the crowd, with large ſticks in their hands, who ran toward thoſe new-comers. The latter inſtantly threw down the poles from their ſhoulders, and ſcampered off; and the others attacked the poles; and, having beat them moſt unmercifully, returned to their places. As the pole-bearers ran off, they gave the challenge that is uſual here in wreſtling; and, not long after, a number of ſtout fellows came from the ſame quarter, repeating the challenge as they advanced. Theſe were oppoſed by a party, who came from the oppoſite ſide almoſt at the ſame inſtant. The two parties paraded about the area for a few minutes, and then retired, each to their own ſide. After this,

1777. July. this, there were wreſtling and boxing-matches for about half an hour. Then two men ſeated themſelves before the prince, and made ſpeeches, addreſſed, as I thought, entirely to him. With this the ſolemnity ended, and the whole aſſembly broke up.

I now went and examined the ſeveral baſkets which had been preſented; a curioſity that I was not allowed before to indulge; becauſe every thing was then *taboo*. But the ſolemnity being now over, they became, ſimply, what I found them to be, empty baſkets. So that, whatever they were ſuppoſed to contain, was emblematically repreſented. And ſo, indeed, was every other thing which had been brought in proceſſion, except the fiſh.

We endeavoured, in vain, to find out the meaning, not only of the ceremony in general, which is called *Natche*, but of its different parts. We ſeldom got any other anſwer to our inquiries, but *taboo*; a word, which, I have before obſerved, is applied to many other things. But, as the prince was, evidently, the principal perſon concerned in it; and as we had been told by the king, ten days before the celebration of the *Natche*, that the people would bring in yams for him and his ſon to eat together; and as he even deſcribed ſome part of the ceremony, we concluded, from what he had then ſaid, and from what we now ſaw, that an oath of allegiance, if I may ſo expreſs myſelf, or ſolemn promiſe, was, on this occaſion, made to the prince, as the immediate ſucceſſor to the regal dignity, to ſtand by him, and to furniſh him with the ſeveral articles that were here emblematically repreſented. This ſeems the more probable, as all the principal people of the iſland, whom we had ever ſeen, aſſiſted in the proceſſions. But, be this as it may, the whole

was conducted with a great deal of myſterious ſolemnity; and, that there was a mixture of religion in the inſtitution, was evident, not only from the place where it was performed, but from the manner of performing it. Our dreſs and deportment had never been called in queſtion, upon any former occaſion whatever. Now, it was expected that we ſhould be uncovered as low as the waiſt; that our hair ſhould be looſe, and flowing over our ſhoulders; that we ſhould, like themſelves, ſit croſs-legged; and, at times, in the moſt humble poſture, with down-caſt eyes, and hands locked together; all which requiſites were moſt devoutly obſerved by the whole aſſembly. And, laſtly, every one was excluded from the ſolemnity, but the principal people, and thoſe who aſſiſted in the celebration. All theſe circumſtances were to me a ſufficient teſtimony, that, upon this occaſion, they conſidered themſelves as acting under the immediate inſpection of a Supreme Being. 1777. July.

The preſent *Natche* may be conſidered, from the above account of it, as merely figurative. For the ſmall quantity of yams, which we ſaw the firſt day, could not be intended as a general contribution; and, indeed, we were given to underſtand, that they were a portion conſecrated to the *Otooa*, or Divinity. But we were informed, that, in about three months, there would be performed, on the ſame account, a far more important and grander ſolemnity; on which occaſion, not only the tribute of Tongataboo, but that of Hapaee, Vavaoo, and of all the other iſlands, would be brought to the Chief, and confirmed more awfully, by ſacrificing ten human victims from amongſt the inferior ſort of people. A horrid ſolemnity indeed! and which is a moſt ſignificant inſtance of the influence of gloomy and ignorant ſuperſtition, over the minds of one of the moſt benevolent and humane

1777. July. mane nations upon earth. On inquiring into the reaſons of ſo barbarous a practice, they only ſaid, that it was a neceſſary part of the *Natche*; and that, if they omitted it, the Deity would certainly deſtroy their king.

Before the aſſembly broke up, the day was far ſpent; and as we were at ſome diſtance from the ſhips, and had an intricate navigation to go through, we were in haſte to ſet out from Mooa. When I took leave of Poulaho, he preſſed me much to ſtay till the next day, to be preſent at a funeral ceremony. The wife of Mareewagee, who was mother in-law to the king, had lately died; and her corpſe had, on account of the *Natche*, been carried on board a canoe that lay in the *lagoon*. Poulaho told me, that, as ſoon as he had paid the laſt offices to her, he would attend me to Eooa; but, if I did not wait, that he would follow me thither. I underſtood, at the ſame time, that, if it had not been for the death of this woman, moſt of the Chiefs would have accompanied us to that iſland; where, it ſeems, all of them have poſſeſſions. I would gladly have waited to ſee this ceremony alſo, had not the tide been now favourable for the ſhips to get through the narrows. The wind, beſides, which, for ſeveral days paſt, had been very boiſterous, was now moderate and ſettled; and to have loſt this opportunity, might have detained us a fortnight longer. But what was deciſive againſt my waiting, we underſtood that the funeral ceremonies would laſt five days, which was too long a time, as the ſhips lay in ſuch a ſituation, that I could not get to ſea at pleaſure. I, however, aſſured the king, that, if we did not fail, I ſhould certainly viſit him again the next day. And ſo we all took leave of him, and ſet out for the ſhips, where we arrived about eight o'clock in the evening.

I had

I had forgot to mention, that Omai was preſent at this ſecond day's ceremony, as well as myſelf; but we were not together; nor did I know that he was there, till it was almoſt over. He afterward told me, that, as ſoon as the king ſaw that I had ſtolen out from the plantation, he ſent ſeveral people, one after another, to deſire me to come back. Probably, theſe meſſengers were not admitted to the place where I was; for I ſaw nothing of them. At laſt, intelligence was brought to the Chief, that I had actually ſtripped, in conformity to their cuſtom; and then he told Omai, that he might be preſent alſo, if he would comply with all the neceſſary forms. Omai had no objection, as nothing was required of him, but to conform to the cuſtom of his own country. Accordingly, he was furniſhed with a proper dreſs, and appeared at the ceremony as one of the natives. It is likely, that one reaſon of our being excluded at firſt, was an apprehenſion, that we would not ſubmit to the requiſites to qualify us to aſſiſt. 1777. July.

While I was attending the *Natche* at Mooa, I ordered the horſes, bull and cow, and goats, to be brought thither; thinking that they would be ſafer there, under the eyes of the Chiefs, than at a place that would be, in a manner, deſerted, the moment after our departure. Beſides the abovementioned animals, we left, with our friends here, a young boar, and three young ſows, of the Engliſh breed. They were exceedingly deſirous of them, judging, no doubt, that they would greatly improve their own breed, which is rather ſmall. Feenou alſo got from us two rabbits, a buck and a doe; and, before we ſailed, we were told, that young ones had been already produced. If the cattle ſucceed, of which I make no doubt, it will be a vaſt acquiſition to theſe

1777. July. iſlands; and, as Tongataboo is a fine level country, the horſes cannot but be uſeful.

Thurſday 10. On the 10th, at eight o'clock in the morning, we weighed anchor, and, with a ſteady gale at South Eaſt, turned through the channel, between the ſmall iſles called Makkahaa and Monooafai; it being much wider than the channel between the laſt mentioned iſland and Pangimodoo. The flood ſet ſtrong in our favour, till we were the length of the channel leading up to the *lagoon*, where the flood from the Eaſtward meets that from the Weſt. This, together with the indraught of the *lagoon*, and of the ſhoals before it, cauſeth ſtrong riplings and whirlpools. To add to theſe dangers, the depth of water in the channel exceeds the length of a cable; ſo that there is no anchorage, except cloſe to the rocks, where we meet with forty and forty-five fathoms, over a bottom of dark ſand. But then, here, a ſhip would be expoſed to the whirlpools. This fruſtrated the deſign which I had formed, of coming to an anchor, as ſoon as we were through the narrows, and of making an excurſion to ſee the funeral. I choſe rather to loſe that ceremony, than to leave the ſhips in a ſituation, in which I did not think them ſafe. We continued to ply to windward, between the two tides, without either gaining or loſing an inch, till near high water, when, by a favourable ſlant, we got into the Eaſtern tide's influence. We expected, there, to find the ebb to run ſtrong to the Eaſtward in our favour; but it proved ſo inconſiderable, that, at any other time, it would not have been noticed. This informed us, that moſt of the water, which flows into the *lagoon*, comes from the North Weſt, and returns the ſame way. About five in the afternoon, finding that we could not get to ſea before it was

dark, I came to an anchor, under the ſhore of Tongataboo, in forty-five fathoms water; and about two cables length from the reef, that runs along that ſide of the iſland. The Diſcovery dropped anchor under our ſtern; but before the anchor took hold, ſhe drove off the bank, and did not recover it till after midnight. 1777. July.

We remained at this ſtation, till eleven o'clock, the next day, when we weighed, and plyed to the Eaſtward. But it was ten at night, before we weathered the Eaſt end of the iſland, and were enabled to ſtretch away for Middleburg, or Eooa (as it is called by the inhabitants), where we anchored, at eight o'clock, the next morning, in forty fathoms water, over a bottom of ſand, interſperſed with coral rocks; the extremes of the iſland extending, from North, 40° Eaſt, to South, 22° Weſt; the high land of Eooa, South, 45° Eaſt; and Tongataboo, from North, 70° Weſt, to North, 19° Weſt; diſtant about half a mile from the ſhore; being nearly the ſame place where I had my ſtation in 1773, and then named by me, *Engliſh Road*. Friday 11. Saturday 12.

We had no ſooner anchored, than Taoofa the Chief, and ſeveral other natives, viſited us on board, and ſeemed to rejoice much at our arrival. This Taoofa * had been my *Tayo*, when I was here, during my laſt voyage; conſequently, we were not ſtrangers to each other. In a little time, I went aſhore with him, in ſearch of freſh water; the procuring of which, was the chief object that brought me to Eooa. I had been told, at Tongataboo, that there was here a ſtream, running from the hills into the ſea; but this was not the caſe now. I was firſt conducted to a brackiſh ſpring, between low and high water mark, amongſt rocks, in the

* In the account of Captain Cook's former voyage, he calls the only Chief he then met with, at this place, *Tioony*. See Vol. i. p. 192.

1777. July. cove where we landed, and where no one would ever have thought of looking for what we wanted. However, I believe, the water of this ſpring might be good, were it poſſible to take it up, before the tide mixes with it. Finding that we did not like this, our friends took us a little way into the iſland; where, in a deep chaſm, we found very good water; which, at the expence of ſome time and trouble, might be conveyed down to the ſhore, by means of ſpouts or troughs, that could be made with plantain leaves, and the ſtem of the tree. But, rather than to undertake that tedious taſk, I reſolved to reſt contented with the ſupply the ſhips had got at Tongataboo.

Before I returned on board, I ſet on foot a trade for hogs and yams. Of the former, we could procure but few; but, of the latter, plenty. I put aſhore, at this iſland, the ram and two ewes, of the Cape of Good Hope breed of ſheep; intruſting them to the care of Taoofa, who ſeemed proud of his charge. It was fortunate, perhaps, that Mareewagee, to whom I had given them, as before-mentioned, ſlighted the preſent. Eooa, not having, as yet, got any dogs upon it, ſeems to be a properer place than Tongataboo for the rearing of ſheep.

As we lay at anchor, this iſland bore a very different aſpect from any we had lately ſeen, and formed a moſt beautiful landſcape. It is higher than any we had paſſed, ſince leaving New Zealand (as Kao may juſtly be reckoned an immenſe rock), and from its top, which is almoſt flat, declines very gently toward the ſea. As the other iſles, of this cluſter, are level, the eye can diſcover nothing but the trees that cover them; but here the land, riſing gently upward, preſents us with an extenſive proſpect, where groves of trees are only interſperſed at irregular diſtances, in beautiful

beautiful diſorder, and the reſt covered with graſs. Near the ſhore, again, it is quite ſhaded with various trees, amongſt which are the habitations of the natives; and to the right of our ſtation, was one of the moſt extenſive groves of cocoa-palms we had ever ſeen. 1777. July.

The 13th, in the afternoon, a party of us made an excurſion to the higheſt part of the iſland, which was a little to the right of our ſhips, in order to have a full view of the country. About half way up, we croſſed a deep valley, the bottom and ſides of which, though compoſed of hardly any thing but coral rock, were clothed with trees. We were now about two or three hundred feet above the level of the ſea, and yet, even here, the coral was perforated into all the holes and inequalities, which uſually diverſify the ſurface of this ſubſtance within the reach of the tide. Indeed, we found the ſame coral, till we began to approach the ſummits of the higheſt hills; and, it was remarkable, that theſe were chiefly compoſed of a yellowiſh, ſoft, ſandy ſtone. The ſoil, there, is, in general, a reddiſh clay; which, in many places, ſeemed to be very deep. On the moſt elevated part of the whole iſland, we found a round platform, or mount of earth, ſupported by a wall of coral ſtones; to bring which, to ſuch a height, muſt have coſt much labour. Our guides told us, that this mount had been erected by order of their Chief; and that they, ſometimes, met there to drink *kava*. They called it *Etchee*; by which name, an erection, which we had ſeen at Tongataboo, as already mentioned, was diſtinguiſhed. Not many paces from it, was a ſpring of excellent water; and, about a mile lower down, a running ſtream, which, we were told, found its way to the ſea, when the rains were copious. We alſo met Sunday 13.

with

1777. July. with water, in many little holes; and, no doubt, great plenty might be found, by digging.

From the elevation, to which we had aſcended, we had a full view of the whole iſland, except a part of the South point. The South Eaſt ſide, from which the higheſt hills, we were now upon, are not far diſtant, riſes with very great inequalities, immediately from the ſea; ſo that the plains and meadows, of which there are here ſome of great extent, lie all on the North Weſt ſide; and, as they are adorned with tufts of trees, intermixed with plantations, they form a very beautiful landſcape, in every point of view. While I was ſurveying this delightful proſpect, I could not help flattering myſelf with the pleaſing idea, that ſome future navigator may, from the ſame ſtation, behold theſe meadows ſtocked with cattle, brought to theſe iſlands by the ſhips of England; and that the completion of this ſingle benevolent purpoſe, independently of all other conſiderations, would ſufficiently mark to poſterity, that our voyages had not been uſeleſs to the general intereſts of humanity. Beſides the plants common on the other neighbouring iſlands, we found, on the height, a ſpecies of *acroſticum*, *melaſtoma*, and fern tree; with a few other ferns and plants, not common lower down.

Our guides informed us, that all, or moſt of the land, on this iſland, belonged to the great Chiefs of Tongataboo; and that the inhabitants were only tenants, or vaſſals, to them. Indeed, this ſeemed to be the caſe at all the other neighbouring iſles, except Annamooka, where there were ſome Chiefs, who ſeemed to act with ſome kind of independence. Omai, who was a great favourite with Feenou, and theſe people in general, was tempted with the offer of being

being made Chief of this iſland, if he would have ſtaid amongſt them; and it is not clear to me, that he would not have been glad to ſtay, if the ſcheme had met with my approbation. I own, I did diſapprove of it; but not becauſe I thought that Omai would do better for himſelf in his own native iſle. 1777. July.

On returning from my country expedition, we were informed that a party of the natives had, in the circle where our people traded, ſtruck one of their own countrymen with a club, which laid bare, or, as others ſaid, fractured his ſkull, and then broke his thigh with the ſame; when our men interpoſed. He had no ſigns of life, when carried to a neighbouring houſe; but afterward recovered a little. On my aſking the reaſon of ſo ſevere a treatment, we were informed, that he had been diſcovered in a ſituation rather indelicate, with a woman who was *taboo'd*. We, however, underſtood, that ſhe was no otherwiſe *taboo'd*, than by belonging to another perſon, and rather ſuperior in rank to her gallant. From this circumſtance, we had an opportunity of obſerving, how theſe people treat ſuch infidelities. But the female ſinner has, by far, the ſmaller ſhare of puniſhment for her miſdemeanor; as they told us, that ſhe would only receive a ſlight beating.

The next morning, I planted a pine-apple, and ſowed the ſeeds of melons, and other vegetables in the Chief's plantation. I had ſome encouragement, indeed, to flatter myſelf, that my endeavours of this kind would not be fruitleſs; for, this day, there was ſerved up at my dinner, a diſh of turnips, being the produce of the ſeeds I had left here during my laſt voyage. Monday 14.

I had

1777. July. Tueſday 15. I had fixed upon the 15th for ſailing, till Taoofa preſſed me to ſtay a day or two longer, to receive a preſent he had prepared for me. This reaſon, and the daily expectation of ſeeing ſome of our friends from Tongataboo, induced me to defer my departure.

Wedneſ. 16. Accordingly, the next day, I received the Chief's preſent; conſiſting of two ſmall heaps of yams, and ſome fruit, which ſeemed to be collected by a kind of contribution, as at the other iſles. On this occaſion, moſt of the people of the iſland had aſſembled at the place; and, as we had experienced on ſuch numerous meetings amongſt their neighbours, gave us not a little trouble to prevent them from pilfering whatever they could lay their hands upon. We were entertained with cudgelling, wreſtling, and boxing-matches; and in the latter, both male and female combatants exhibited. It was intended to have finiſhed the ſhew with the *bomai*, or night-dance; but an accident either put a total ſtop to it, or, at leaſt, prevented any of us from ſtaying aſhore to ſee it. One of my people, walking a very little way, was ſurrounded by twenty or thirty of the natives, who knocked him down, and ſtripped him of every thing he had on his back. On hearing of this, I immediately ſeized two canoes, and a large hog; and inſiſted on Taoofa's cauſing the clothes to be reſtored, and on the offenders being delivered up to me. The Chief ſeemed much concerned at what had happened; and forthwith took the neceſſary ſteps to ſatisfy me. This affair ſo alarmed the aſſembled people, that moſt of them fled. However, when they found that I took no other meaſures to revenge the inſult, they returned. It was not long before one of the offenders was delivered up to me, and a ſhirt and a pair of trowſers

reſtored. The remainder of the ſtolen goods not coming in before night, I was under a neceſſity of leaving them to go aboard; for the ſea run ſo high, that it was with the greateſt difficulty the boats could get out of the creek with daylight, much leſs in the dark. 1777. July.

The next morning, I landed again, having provided myſelf with a preſent for Taoofa, in return for what he had given me. As it was early, there were but few people at the landing-place, and thoſe few not without their fears. But on my deſiring Omai to aſſure them, that we meant no harm; and, in confirmation of this aſſurance, having reſtored the canoes, and releaſed the offender, whom they had delivered up to me, they reſumed their uſual gaiety; and, preſently, a large circle was formed, in which the Chief, and all the principal men of the iſland, took their places. The remainder of the clothes were now brought in; but, as they had been torn off the man's back, by pieces, they were not worth carrying on board. Taoofa, on receiving my preſent, ſhared it with three or four other Chiefs, keeping only a ſmall part for himſelf. This preſent exceeded their expectation ſo greatly, that one of the Chiefs, a venerable old man, told me, that they did not deſerve it, conſidering how little they had given to me, and the ill treatment one of my people had met with. I remained with them, till they had finiſhed their bowl of *kava*; and having then paid for the hog, which I had taken the day before, returned on board, with Taoofa, and one of Poulaho's ſervants, by whom I ſent, as a parting mark of my eſteem and regard for that Chief, a piece of bar iron; being as valuable a preſent as any I could make to him. Thurſday 17.

1777. July. Soon after, we weighed, and with a light breeze at South Eaſt, ſtood out to ſea; and then Taoofa, and a few other natives, that were in the ſhip, left us. On heaving up the anchor, we found, that the cable had ſuffered conſiderably by the rocks; ſo that the bottom, in this road, is not to be depended upon. Beſides this, we experienced, that a prodigious ſwell rolls in there from the South Weſt.

We had not been long under ſail, before we obſerved a ſailing canoe coming from Tongataboo, and entering the creek before which we had anchored. Some hours after, a ſmall canoe, conducted by four men, came off to us. For, as we had but little wind, we were, ſtill, at no great diſtance from the land. Theſe men told us, that the ſailing canoe, which we had ſeen arrive from Tongataboo, had brought orders to the people of Eooa, to furniſh us with a certain number of hogs; and that, in two days, the king, and other Chiefs, would be with us. They, therefore, deſired we would return to our former ſtation. There was no reaſon to doubt the truth of what theſe men told us. Two of them had actually come from Tongataboo, in the ſailing canoe; and they had no view in coming off to us, but to give this intelligence. However, as we were now clear of the land, it was not a ſufficient inducement to bring me back; eſpecially as we had, already, on board, a ſtock of freſh proviſions, ſufficient, in all probability, to laſt during our paſſage to Otaheite. Beſides Taoofa's preſent, we had got a good quantity of yams at Eooa, in exchange chiefly for ſmall nails. Our ſupply of hogs was alſo conſiderably increaſed there; though, doubtleſs, we ſhould have got many more, if the Chiefs of Tongataboo had been with us, whoſe property they moſtly were. At the approach of night, theſe men,

men, finding that we would not return, left us; as alſo ſome others, who had come off in two canoes, with a few cocoa-nuts, and ſhaddocks, to exchange them for what they could get; the eagerneſs of theſe people to get into their poſſeſſion more of our commodities, inducing them to follow the ſhips out to ſea, and to continue their intercourſe with us to the laſt moment. 1777. July.

CHAP. X.

Advantages derived from viſiting the Friendly Iſlands.—Beſt Articles for Traffic.—Refreſhments that may be procured.—The Number of the Iſlands, and their Names.—Keppel's and Boſcawen's Iſlands belong to them.—Account of Vavaoo—of Hamoa—of Feejee.—Voyages of the Natives in their Canoes.—Difficulty of procuring exact Information.—Perſons of the Inhabitants of both Sexes.—Their Colour.—Diſeaſes.—Their general Character.—Manner of wearing their Hair—of puncturing their Bodies.—Their Clothing and Ornaments.—Perſonal Cleanlineſs.

1777. July. THUS we took leave of the Friendly Iſlands, and their inhabitants, after a ſtay of between two and three months; during which time, we lived together in the moſt cordial friendſhip. Some accidental differences, it is true, now and then happened, owing to their great propenſity to thieving; but, too often, encouraged by the negligence of our own people. But theſe differences were never attended with any fatal conſequences; to prevent which, all my meaſures were directed; and, I believe, few, on board our ſhips, left our friends here without ſome regret. The time, employed amongſt them, was not thrown away. We expended very little of our ſea proviſions; ſubſiſting, in general, upon the produce of the iſlands, while we ſtaid; and carrying away with us a quantity of refreſhments ſufficient

to

to laſt till our arrival at another ſtation, where we could depend upon a freſh ſupply. I was not ſorry, beſides, to have had an opportunity of bettering the condition of theſe good people, by leaving the uſeful animals, before-mentioned, among them; and, at the ſame time, thoſe deſigned for Otaheite, received freſh ſtrength in the paſtures of Tongataboo. Upon the whole, therefore, the advantages we received, by touching here, were very great; and I had the additional ſatisfaction to reflect, that they were received, without retarding, one moment, the proſecution of the great object of our voyage; the ſeaſon, for proceeding to the North, being, as has been already obſerved, loſt, before I took the reſolution of bearing away for theſe iſlands. 1777. July.

But, beſides the immediate advantages, which both the natives of the Friendly Iſlands, and ourſelves, received by this viſit, future navigators from Europe, if any ſuch ſhould ever tread our ſteps, will profit by the knowledge I acquired of the geography of this part of the Pacific Ocean; and the more philoſophical reader, who loves to view human nature in new ſituations, and to ſpeculate on ſingular, but faithful repreſentations of the perſons, the cuſtoms, the arts, the religion, the government, and the language of uncultivated man, in remote and freſh diſcovered quarters of the globe, will, perhaps, find matter of amuſement, if not of inſtruction, in the information which I have been enabled to convey to him, concerning the inhabitants of this Archipelago. I ſhall ſuſpend my narrative, of the progreſs of the voyage, while I faithfully relate what I had opportunities of collecting on theſe ſeveral topics.

We found, by our experience, that the beſt articles for traffic, at theſe iſlands, are iron tools in general. Axes and hatchets; nails, from the largeſt ſpike down to tenpenny

1777. July. ones; raſps; files; and knives, are much ſought after. Red cloth; and linen, both white and coloured; looking-glaſſes, and beads, are alſo in eſtimation; but, of the latter, thoſe that are blue, are preferred to all others; and white ones are thought the leaſt valuable. A ſtring of large blue beads would, at any time, purchaſe a hog. But it muſt be obſerved, that ſuch articles as are merely ornaments, may be highly eſteemed at one time, and not ſo at another. When we firſt arrived at Annamooka, the people there would hardly take them in exchange even for fruit; but when Feenou came, this great man ſet the faſhion, and brought them into vogue, till they roſe in their value to what I have juſt mentioned.

In return for the favourite commodities which I have enumerated, all the refreſhments may be procured that the iſlands produce. Theſe are, hogs, fowls, fiſh, yams, bread-fruit, plantains, cocoa-nuts, ſugar-cane, and, in general, every ſuch ſupply as can be met with at Otaheite, or any of the Society Iſlands. The yams of the Friendly iſlands are excellent, and, when grown to perfection, keep very well at ſea. But their pork, bread fruit, and plantains, though far from deſpicable, are, nevertheleſs, much inferior in quality to the ſame articles at Otaheite, and in its neighbourhood.

Good water, which ſhips, on long voyages, ſtand ſo much in need of, is ſcarce at theſe iſlands. It may be found, it is true, on them all; but, ſtill, either in too inconſiderable quantities, or in ſituatious too inconvenient, to ſerve the purpoſes of navigators. However, as the iſlands afford plenty of proviſions, and particularly of cocoa-nuts, ſhips may make a tolerable ſhift with ſuch water as is to be got; and if one is not over-nice, there will be no want. While we lay at anchor, under Kotoo, on our return from Hapaee, ſome

ſome people, from Kao, informed us, that there was a ſtream of water there, which, pouring down from the mountain, runs into the ſea, on the South Weſt ſide of the iſland; that is, on the ſide that faces Toofoa, another iſland remarkable for its height, as alſo for having a conſiderable volcano in it, which, as has been already mentioned, burnt violently all the time that we were in its neighbourhood. It may be worth while for future navigators, to attend to this intelligence about the ſtream of water at Kao; eſpecially as we learned that there was anchorage on that part of the coaſt. The black ſtone, of which the natives of the Friendly Iſlands make their hatchets, and other tools, we were informed, is the production of Toofoa. 1777. July.

Under the denomination of Friendly Iſlands, we muſt include, not only the group at Hapaee, which I viſited, but alſo all thoſe iſlands, that have been diſcovered nearly under the ſame meridian, to the North, as well as ſome others that have never been ſeen, hitherto, by any European navigators; but are under the dominion of Tongataboo, which, though not the largeſt, is the capital, and ſeat of government.

According to the information that we received there, this Archipelago is very extenſive. Above one hundred and fifty iſlands were reckoned up to us by the natives, who made uſe of bits of leaves to aſcertain their number; and Mr. Anderſon, with his uſual diligence, even procured all their names. Fifteen of them are ſaid to be high, or hilly, ſuch as Toofoa, and Eooa; and thirty-five of them large. Of theſe, only three were ſeen this voyage; Hapaee (which is conſidered by the natives as one iſland), Tongataboo, and Eooa: of the ſize of the unexplored thirty-two, nothing more can be mentioned, but that they muſt

1777. July. be all larger than Annamooka; which thoſe, from whom we had our information, ranked amongſt the ſmaller iſles. Some, or indeed ſeveral, of this latter denomination, are mere ſpots, without inhabitants. Sixty-one of theſe iſlands have their proper places and names marked upon our chart of the Friendly Iſlands, and upon the ſketch of the harbour of Tongataboo, to both which I refer the reader. But it muſt be left to future navigators, to introduce into the geography of this part of the South Pacific Ocean, the exact ſituation and ſize of near a hundred more iſlands in this neighbourhood, which we had not an opportunity to explore; and whoſe exiſtence we only learnt from the teſtimony of our friends, as above-mentioned. On their authority, the following liſt of them was made; and it may ſerve as a ground-work for farther inveſtigation.

Names of the Friendly Iſlands, and others, in that Neighbourhood, mentioned by the Inhabitants of Annamooka, Hapaee, and Tongataboo.*

Komooefeeva,	Noogoofaeeou,	Novababoo,
Kollalona,	Koreemou,	Golabbe,
Felongaboonga,	Failemaia,	Vagaeetoo,
Kovereetoa,	Koweeka,	Gowakka,
Fonogooeatta,	Konookoonama,	*Goofoo*,
Modooanoogoo noo-goo,	Kooonoogoo,	Mafanna,
	Geenageena,	Kolloooa,
Tongooa,	Kowourogoheefo,	Tabanna,
Koooa,	Kottejeea,	Motooha,
Fonooa eeka,	Kokabba,	Looakabba,

* Thoſe iſlands, which the natives repreſented as large ones, are diſtinguiſhed in Italics.

Vavaoo,

1777. July.

Vavaoo,	Boloa,	Toofanaetollo,
Koloa,	Toofagga,	Toofanaelaa,
Fafeene,	Loogoobahanga,	*Kogoopoloo,*
Taoonga,	Taoola,	*Havaeeeeke,*
Kobakeemotoo,	Maneeneeta,	*Tootooeela,*
Kongahoonoho,	Fonooaooma,	*Manooka,*
Komalla,	Fonooonneonne,	*Leſhainga,*
Konoababoo,	Wegaffa,	*Pappataia,*
Konnetalle,	Fooamotoo,	*Loubatta,*
Komongoraffa,	Fonooalaiee,	*Oloo,*
Kotoolooa,	Tattahoi,	*Takounove,*
Kologobeele,	Latte,	*Kopaoo,*
Kollokolahee,	*Neuafo,*	*Kovooeea,*
Matageefaia,	*Feejee,*	*Kongaireekee,*
Mallajee,	*Oowaia,*	*Tafeedoowaia,*
Mallalahee,	*Kongaiarahoi,*	*Hamoa,*
Gonoogoolaiee,	*Kotoobooo,*	*Neeootabootaboo,*
Toonabai,	*Komotte,*	*Fotoona,*
Konnevy,	*Komoarra,*	*Vytooboo,*
Konnevao,	*Kolaiva,*	*Lotooma,*
Moggodoo,	*Kofoona,*	*Toggelao,*
Looamoggo,	*Konnagillelaivoo,*	*Talava.*

I have not the leaſt doubt, that Prince William's Iſlands, diſcovered, and ſo named by Taſman, are included in the foregoing liſt. For while we lay at Hapaee, one of the natives told me, that, three or four days ſail from thence, to the North Weſt, there was a cluſter of ſmall iſlands, conſiſting of upward of forty. This ſituation correſponds very well with that aſſigned, in the accounts we have of Taſman's voyage, to his Prince William's Iſlands *.

* Taſman ſaw eighteen or twenty of theſe ſmall iſlands, every one of which was ſurrounded with ſands, ſhoals, and rocks. They are alſo called, in ſome charts,

1777. July. We have alſo very good authority to believe, that Keppel's and Boſcawen's Iſlands, two of Captain Wallis's diſcoveries in 1765, are comprehended in our liſt; and that they are not only well known to theſe people, but are under the ſame ſovereign. The following information ſeemed to me deciſive as to this. Upon my inquiring, one day, of Poulaho the king, in what manner the inhabitants of Tongataboo had acquired the knowledge of iron, and from what quarter they had procured a ſmall iron tool, which I had ſeen amongſt them, when I firſt viſited their iſland, during my former voyage, he informed me, that they had received this iron from an iſland, which he called Neeootabootaboo. Carrying my inquiries further, I then deſired to know, whether he had ever been informed, from whom the people of Neeootabootaboo had got it. I found him perfectly acquainted with its hiſtory. He ſaid, that one of thoſe iſlanders ſold a club, for five nails, to a ſhip which had touched there; and that theſe five nails afterward were ſent to Tongataboo. He added, that this was the firſt iron known amongſt them; ſo that, what Taſman left of that metal, muſt have been worn out, and forgot long ago. I was very particular in my inquiries about the ſituation, ſize, and form of the iſland; expreſſing my deſire to know when this ſhip had touched there; how long ſhe ſtaid; and whether any more were in company. The leading facts appeared to be freſh in his memory. He ſaid, that there was but one ſhip; that ſhe did not come to an anchor, but left the iſland after her boat had been on ſhore. And from many circumſtances, which he mentioned, it could not be many years ſince this

Heemſkirk's Banks. See Dalrymple's Collection of Voyages to the South Pacific Ocean, Vol. ii. p. 83.; and Campbell's edition of Harris's, Vol. i. p. 325.

had

had happened. According to his information, there are two iſlands near each other, which he himſelf had been at. The one he deſcribed as high, and peaked like Kao, and he called it Kootahee; the other, where the people of the ſhip landed, called Neeootabootaboo, he repreſented as much lower. He added, that the natives of both are the ſame ſort of people with thoſe of Tongataboo; built their canoes in the ſame manner; that their iſlands had hogs and fowls; and, in general, the ſame vegetable productions. The ſhip, ſo pointedly referred to, in this converſation, could be no other than the Dolphin; the only ſingle ſhip from Europe, as far as we have ever learned, that had touched, of late years, at any iſland in this part of the Pacific Ocean, prior to my former viſit of the Friendly Iſlands *. 1777. July.

But the moſt conſiderable iſlands in this neighbourhood, that we now heard of (and we heard a great deal about them), are Hamoa, Vavaoo, and Feejee. Each of theſe was repreſented to us as larger than Tongataboo. No European, that we know of, has, as yet, ſeen any one of them. Taſman, indeed, lays down in his chart, an iſland nearly in the ſituation where I ſuppoſe Vavaoo to be; that is, about the latitude of 19° †. But, then, that iſland is there marked as

* See Captain Wallis's Voyage, in Hawkeſworth's Collection, Vol. i. p. 492—494. Captain Wallis there calls both theſe iſlands *high ones*. But the ſuperior height of one of them may be inferred, from his ſaying, that it appears *like a ſugar-loaf*. This ſtrongly marks its reſemblance to Kao. From comparing Poulaho's intelligence to Captain Cook, with Captain Wallis's account, it ſeems to be paſt all doubt, that Boſcawen's Iſland is our Kootahee, and Keppel's Iſland our Neeootaboo-taboo. The laſt is one of the large iſlands marked in the foregoing liſt. The reader, who has been already apprized of the variations of our people in writing down what the natives pronounced, will hardly doubt that Kottejeea and Kootahee are the ſame.

† Neither Dalrymple nor Campbell, in their accounts of Taſman's voyage, take any particular notice of his having ſeen ſuch an iſland. The chart here referred to,

1777. July. as a very ſmall one; whereas Vavaoo, according to the united teſtimony of all our friends at Tongataboo, exceeds the ſize of their own iſland, and has high mountains. I ſhould certainly have viſited it; and have accompanied Feenou from Hapaee, if he had not then diſcouraged me, by repreſenting it to be very inconſiderable, and without any harbour. But Poulaho, the king, afterward aſſured me, that it was a large iſland; and that it not only produced every thing in common with Tongataboo, but had the peculiar advantage of poſſeſſing ſeveral ſtreams of freſh water, with as good a harbour as that which we found at his capital iſland. He offered to attend me, if I would viſit it; adding, that, if I did not find every thing agreeing with his repreſentation, I might kill him. I had not the leaſt doubt of the truth of his intelligence; and was ſatisfied that Feenou, from ſome intereſted view, attempted to deceive me.

Hamoa, which is alſo under the dominion of Tongataboo, lies two days ſail North Weſt from Vavaoo. It was deſcribed to me, as the largeſt of all their iſlands; as affording harbours and good water; and as producing, in abundance, every article of refreſhment found at the places we viſited. Poulaho, himſelf, frequently reſides there. It ſhould ſeem, that the people of this iſland are in high eſtimation at Tongataboo; for we were told, that ſome of the ſongs and dances, with which we were entertained, had been copied from theirs; and we ſaw ſome houſes, ſaid to be built after their faſhion. Mr. Anderſon, always inquiſitive about ſuch

by Captain Cook, is, probably, Mr. Dalrymple's, in his Collection of Voyages, where Taſman's track is marked accurately; and ſeveral very ſmall ſpots of land are laid down in the ſituation here mentioned.

matters,

matters, learnt the three following words of the dialect of Hamoa. 1777. July.

*Tamolao**, a chief man.
Tamaety, a chief woman.
Solle, a common man.

Feejee;

* In two or three preceding notes, extracts have been made from the *Lettres Edifiantes & Curieuſes*, as marking a ſtrong reſemblance between ſome of the cuſtoms of the inhabitants of the Caroline Iſlands, and thoſe which Captain Cook deſcribes as prevailing at an immenſe diſtance, in the iſlands which he viſited in the South Pacific Ocean. Poſſibly, however, the preſumption, ariſing from this reſemblance, that all theſe iſlands were peopled by the ſame nation, or tribe, may be reſiſted, under the plauſible pretence, that cuſtoms very ſimilar prevail amongſt very diſtant people, without inferring any other common ſource, beſides the general principles of human nature, the ſame in all ages, and every part of the globe. The reader, perhaps, will not think this pretence applicable to the matter before us, if he attends to the following very obvious diſtinction: Thoſe cuſtoms which have their foundation in wants that are common to the whole human ſpecies, and which are confined to the contrivance of means to relieve thoſe wants, may well be ſuppoſed to bear a ſtrong reſemblance, without warranting the concluſion, that they who uſe them have copied each other, or have derived them from one common ſource; human ſagacity being the ſame every where, and the means adapted to the relief of any particular natural want, eſpecially in countries ſimilarly uncultivated, being but few. Thus the moſt diſtant tribes, as widely ſeparated as Terra del Fuego is from the iſlands Eaſt of Kamtſchatka, may, both of them, produce their fire, by rubbing two ſticks upon each other, without giving us the leaſt foundation for ſuppoſing, that either of them imitated the other, or derived the invention from a ſource of inſtruction common to both. But this ſeems not to he the caſe, with regard to thoſe cuſtoms to which no general principle of human nature has given birth, and which have their eſtabliſhment ſolely from the endleſs varieties of local whim, and national faſhion. Of this latter kind, thoſe cuſtoms obviouſly are, that belong both to the North, and to the South Pacific Iſlands, from which, we would infer, that they were originally one nation; and the men of Mangeea, and the men of the New Philippines, who pay their reſpects to a perſon whom they mean to honour, by rubbing his hand over their faces, bid fair to have learnt their mode of ſalutation in the ſame ſchool. But if this obſervation ſhould not have removed the doubts of the ſceptical reſiner, probably he will hardly venture to perſiſt in denying the identity of race, contended for in the preſent inſtance, when he ſhall obſerve, that, to the proof drawn from affinity of cuſtoms, we have it in our power to add that moſt unexceptionable one, drawn from affinity of language. *Tamoloa*, we now know, is the word uſed at Hamoa, one of the Friendly Iſlands, to ſignify a Chief; and whoever looks into the *Lettres Edifiantes & Curieuſes*, will ſee, that this is the very name by which the inhabitants of the Caroline Iſlands diſtinguiſh

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Feejee, as we were told, lies three days ſail from Tongataboo, in the direction of North Weſt by Weſt. It was deſcribed to us as a high, but very fruitful iſland; abounding with hogs, dogs, fowls, and all the kinds of fruit and roots that are found in any of the others; and as much larger than Tongataboo; to the dominion of which, as was repreſented to us, it is not ſubject, as the other iſlands of this archipelago are. On the contrary, Feejee and Tongataboo frequently make war upon each other. And it appeared, from ſeveral circumſtances, that the inhabitants of the latter are much afraid of this enemy. They uſed to expreſs their ſenſe of their own inferiority to the Feejee men, by bending the body forward, and covering the face with their hands. And it is no wonder, that they ſhould be under this dread; for thoſe of Feejee are formidable on account of the dexterity with which they uſe their bows and ſlings; but much more ſo, on account of the ſavage practice to which they are addicted, like thoſe of New Zealand, of eating their enemies, whom they kill in battle. We were ſatisfied, that this was not a miſrepreſentation. For we met with ſeveral Feejee people at Tongataboo, and, on inquiring of them, they did not deny the charge.

Now, that I am again led to ſpeak of cannibals, let me aſk thoſe who maintain, that the want of food firſt brings men to feed on human fleſh, What is it that induceth the

diſtinguiſh their principal men. We have, in two preceding notes, inſerted paſſages from Father Cantova's account of them, where their *Tamoles* are ſpoken of; and he repeats the word at leaſt a dozen times, in the courſe of a few pages. But I cannot avoid tranſcribing, from him, the following very deciſive teſtimony, which renders any other quotation ſuperfluous. "L'autorité du Gouvernement ſe partage entre "pluſieurs familles nobles, dont les Chefs s'appellent *Tamoles*. Il y a outre cela, "dans chaque province, un principale *Tamole*, auquel tous les autres ſont ſoumis." *Lettres Edifiantes & Curieuſes*, Tom. xv. p. 312.

Feejee people to keep it up, in the midſt of plenty? This practice is deteſted, very much, by thoſe of Tongataboo, who cultivate the friendſhip of their ſavage neighbours of Feejee, apparently out of fear; though they ſometimes venture to ſkirmiſh with them, on their own ground; and carry off red feathers, as their booty, which are in great plenty there, and, as has been frequently mentioned, are in great eſtimation amongſt our Friendly Iſlanders. When the two iſlands are at peace, the intercourſe between them ſeems to be pretty frequent; though they have, doubtleſs, been but lately known to each other; or we may ſuppoſe, that Tongataboo, and its adjoining iſlands, would have been ſupplied, before this, with a breed of dogs, which abound at Feejee, and had not been introduced at Tongataboo, ſo late as 1773, when I firſt viſited it. The natives of Feejee, whom we met with here, were of a colour that was a full ſhade darker, than that of the inhabitants of the Friendly Iſlands in general. One of them had his left ear ſlit, and the lobe was ſo diſtended, that it almoſt reached his ſhoulder; which ſingularity I had met with at other iſlands of the South Sea, during my ſecond voyage. It appeared to me, that the Feejee men, whom we now ſaw, were much reſpected here; not only, perhaps, from the power, and cruel manner of their nation's going to war, but, alſo, from their ingenuity. For they ſeem to excel the inhabitants of Tongataboo in that reſpect, if we might judge from ſeveral ſpecimens of their ſkill in workmanſhip, which we ſaw; ſuch as clubs and ſpears, which were carved in a very maſterly manner; cloth beautifully chequered; variegated mats; earthen pots; and ſome other articles; all which had a caſt of ſuperiority in the execution. 1777. July.

I have

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I have mentioned, that Feejee lies three days ſail from Tongataboo, becauſe theſe people have no other method of meaſuring the diſtance from iſland to iſland, but by expreſſing the time required to make the voyage, in one of their canoes. In order to aſcertain this, with ſome preciſion, or, at leaſt, to form ſome judgment, how far theſe canoes can ſail, in a moderate gale, in any given time, I went on board one of them, when under ſail, and, by ſeveral trials with the log, found that ſhe went ſeven knots, or miles, in an hour, cloſe hauled, in a gentle gale. From this I judge, that they will ſail, on a medium, with ſuch breezes as generally blow in their ſea, about ſeven or eight miles in an hour. But the length of each day is not to be reckoned at twenty-four hours. For when they ſpeak of one day's ſail, they mean no more than from the morning to the evening of the ſame day; that is, ten or twelve hours at moſt. And two days ſail, with them, ſignifies from the morning of the firſt day, to the evening of the ſecond; and ſo for any other number of days. In theſe navigations, the ſun is their guide by day, and the ſtars by night. When theſe are obſcured, they have recourſe to the points from whence the winds and the waves came upon the veſſel. If, during the obſcuration, both the wind and the waves ſhould ſhift (which, within the limits of the trade-wind, ſeldom happens at any other time), they are then bewildered, frequently miſs their intended port, and are never heard of more. The hiſtory of Omai's countrymen, who were driven to Wateeoo, leads us to infer, that thoſe not heard of, are not always loſt.

Of all the harbours and anchoring places I have met with, amongſt theſe iſlands, that of Tongataboo is, by far, the

beſt; not only on account of its great ſecurity, but of its capacity, and of the goodneſs of its bottom. The riſk that we ran, in entering it from the North, ought to be a ſufficient caution, to every future Commander, not to attempt that paſſage again with a ſhip of burden; ſince the other, by which we left it, is ſo much more eaſy and ſafe. To ſail into it, by this Eaſtern channel, ſteer in for the North Eaſt point of the iſland, and keep along the North ſhore, with the ſmall iſles on your ſtarboard, till you are the length of the Eaſt point of the entrance into the *lagoon*; then edge over for the reef of the ſmall iſles; and, on following its direction, it will conduct you through between Makkahaaa and Monooafai, or the fourth and fifth iſles, which you will perceive to lie off the Weſt point of the *lagoon*. Or you may go between the third and fourth iſlands, that is, between Pangimodoo and Monooafai; but this channel is much narrower than the other. There runs a very ſtrong tide in both. The flood, as I have obſerved before, comes in from the North Weſt, and the ebb returns the ſame way; but I ſhall ſpeak of the tides in another place. As ſoon as you are through either of theſe channels, haul in for the ſhore of Tongataboo, and anchor between it and Pangimodoo, before a creek leading into the *lagoon*; into which boats can go at half flood. 1777. July.

Although Tongataboo has the beſt harbour, Annamooka furniſhes the beſt water; and yet, it cannot be called good. However, by digging holes near the ſide of the pond, we can get what may be called tolerable. This iſland, too, is the beſt ſituated for drawing refreſhments from all the others, as being nearly in the centre of the whole group. Beſides the road in which we anchored, and the harbour within the South Weſt point, there is a creek in the reef,

1777. July. before the Eaſtern ſandy cove, on the North ſide of the iſland, in which two or three ſhips may lie very ſecurely, by mooring head and ſtern, with their anchors or moorings faſt to the rocks.

I have already deſcribed the Hapaee iſlands; and ſhall only add to that deſcription, by mentioning, that they extend South Weſt by South, and North Eaſt by North, about nineteen miles. The North end lies in the latitude of 19° 39′ South, and 33′ of longitude to the Eaſt of Annamooka. Between them, are a great many ſmall iſlands, ſand-banks, and breakers; ſo that the ſafeſt way to arrive at Hapaee, is either by the courſe I held, or round by the North; according to the ſituation of the ſhip bound thither. Lefooga, off which we anchored, is the moſt fertile iſle of thoſe that are called Hapaee; and, conſequently, is the beſt inhabited. There is anchorage along the North Weſt ſide of this iſland; but it will be neceſſary to examine the ground well before you moor. For, although the lead may bring up fine ſand, there are, nevertheleſs, ſome ſharp coral rocks, that would ſoon deſtroy the cables.

They who want a more particular deſcription of the Friendly Iſlands, muſt have recourſe to the chart that we conſtructed. There, every thing is delineated with as much accuracy as circumſtances would permit. Recourſe muſt, alſo, be had, to the ſame chart, for the better tracing the ſeveral ſtations of the ſhips, and their route from the one iſland to the other. To have ſwelled my journal with a minute account of bearings, tackings, and the like, would neither have been entertaining nor inſtructive.

What has been here omitted, concerning the geography of theſe iſlands, will be found in the narrative of my

laſt voyage*. To that narrative I muſt alſo refer†, for ſuch particulars concerning the inhabitants, their manners, and arts, as I had obſerved then, and about which I ſaw no reaſon to change my judgment. At preſent, I ſhall confine myſelf to ſuch intereſting particulars, as either were not mentioned in that narrative, or were imperfectly and incorrectly repreſented there; and to ſuch as may ſerve to explain ſome paſſages in the foregoing account of our tranſactions with the natives. 1777. July.

It may, indeed, be expected, that, after ſpending between two and three months amongſt them, I ſhould be enabled to clear up every difficulty, and to give a tolerably ſatisfactory account of their cuſtoms, opinions, and inſtitutions, both civil and religious; eſpecially as we had a perſon on board, who might be ſuppoſed qualified to act the part of an interpreter, by underſtanding their language and ours. But poor Omai was very deficient. For unleſs the object or thing we wanted to inquire about, was actually before us, we found it difficult to gain a tolerable knowledge of it, from information only, without falling into a hundred miſtakes; and to ſuch miſtakes Omai was more liable than we were. For, having no curioſity, he never gave himſelf the trouble to make remarks for himſelf; and, when he was diſpoſed to explain matters to us, his ideas appeared to be ſo limited, and, perhaps, ſo different from ours, that his accounts were often ſo confuſed, as to perplex, inſtead of inſtructing us. Add to this, that it was very rare that we found, amongſt the natives, a perſon, who united the ability and the inclination to give us the information we wanted; and, we found, that moſt of them hated to be

* Cook's Voyage, Vol. i. p. 211. 213. † Ibid. p. 213. 225.

1777. July. troubled with what they, probably, thought idle queſtions. Our ſituation at Tongataboo, where we remained the longeſt, was, likewiſe, unfavourable. It was in a part of the country, where there were few inhabitants, except fiſhers. It was always holiday with our viſiters, as well as with thoſe we viſited; ſo that we had but few opportunities of obſerving, what was really the domeſtic way of living of the natives. Under theſe diſadvantages, it is not ſurprizing, that we ſhould not be able to bring away with us ſatisfactory accounts of many things; but ſome of us endeavoured to remedy thoſe diſadvantages, by diligent obſervation; and I am indebted to Mr. Anderſon, for a conſiderable ſhare of what follows, in this and in the following chapter. In other matters, I have only expreſſed, nearly in his words, remarks that coincided with mine; but what relates to the religion and language of theſe people, is entirely his own.

The natives of the Friendly Iſlands ſeldom exceed the common ſtature (though we have meaſured ſome, who were above ſix feet); but are very ſtrong, and well made; eſpecially as to their limbs. They are generally broad about the ſhoulders; and though the muſcular diſpoſition of the men, which ſeems a conſequence of much action, rather conveys the appearance of ſtrength than of beauty, there are ſeveral to be ſeen, who are really handſome. Their features are very various; inſomuch, that it is ſcarcely poſſible to fix on any general likeneſs, by which to characterize them, unleſs it be a fullneſs at the point of the noſe, which is very common. But, on the other hand, we met with hundreds of truly European faces, and many genuine Roman noſes, amongſt them. Their eyes and teeth are good; but the laſt neither ſo remarkably white, nor ſo well

well ſet as is often found amongſt Indian nations; though, to balance that, few of them have any uncommon thickneſs about the lips, a defect as frequent as the other perfection. 1777. July.

The women are not ſo much diſtinguiſhed from the men by their features as by their general form, which is, for the moſt part, deſtitute of that ſtrong fleſhy firmneſs that appears in the latter. Though the features of ſome are ſo delicate, as not only to be a true index of their ſex, but to lay claim to a conſiderable ſhare of beauty and expreſſion, the rule is, by no means, ſo general as in many other countries. But, at the ſame time, this is frequently the moſt exceptionable part; for the bodies and limbs of moſt of the females are well proportioned; and ſome, abſolutely, perfect models of a beautiful figure. But the moſt remarkable diſtinction in the women, is the uncommon ſmallneſs and delicacy of their fingers, which may be put in competition with the fineſt in Europe.

The general colour is a caſt deeper than the copper brown; but ſeveral of the men and women have a true olive complexion; and ſome of the laſt are even a great deal fairer; which is probably the effect of being leſs expoſed to the ſun; as a tendency to corpulence, in a few of the principal people, ſeems to be the conſequence of a more indolent life. It is alſo amongſt the laſt, that a ſoft clear ſkin is moſt frequently obſerved. Amongſt the bulk of the people, the ſkin is, more commonly, of a dull hue, with ſome degree of roughneſs, eſpecially the parts that are not covered; which, perhaps, may be occaſioned by ſome cutaneous diſeaſe. We ſaw a man and boy at Hapaee, and a child at Annamooka, perfectly white. Such have been found amongſt all black

1777. July. black nations; but, I apprehend, that their colour is rather a diſeaſe, than a natural phænomenon.

There are, nevertheleſs, upon the whole, few natural defects or deformities to be found amongſt them; though we ſaw two or three with their feet bent inward; and ſome afflicted with a ſort of blindneſs, occaſioned by a diſeaſe of the *cornea*. Neither are they exempt from ſome other diſeaſes. The moſt common of which is the tetter, or ring-worm, that ſeems to affect almoſt one half of them, and leaves whitiſh ſerpentine marks, every where, behind it. But this is of leſs conſequence than another diſeaſe, which is very frequent, and appears on every part of the body, in large broad ulcers with thick white edges, diſcharging a thin, clear matter; ſome of which had a very virulent appearance, particularly thoſe on the face, which were ſhocking to look at. And yet we met with ſome who ſeemed to be cured of it, and others in a fair way of being cured; but this was not affected without the loſs of the noſe, or of the beſt part of it. As we know for a certainty * (and the fact is acknowledged by themſelves), that the people of theſe iſlands were ſubject to this loathſome diſeaſe before the Engliſh firſt viſited them, notwithſtanding the ſimilarity of ſymptoms, it cannot be the effect of the venereal contagion; unleſs we adopt a ſuppoſition, which I could wiſh had ſufficient foundation in truth, that the venereal diſorder was not introduced here from Europe, by our ſhips in 1773. It, aſſuredly, was now found to exiſt amongſt them; for we had not been long there, before ſome of our people received

* See Vol. ii. p. 20. of Captain Cook's Voyage, where he gives a particular account of meeting with a perſon afflicted with this diſeaſe, at Annamooka, on his landing there in 1773.

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the infection; and I had the mortification to learn from thence, that all the care I took, when I firſt viſited theſe iſlands, to prevent this dreadful diſeaſe from being communicated to their inhabitants, had proved ineffectual. What is extraordinary, they do not ſeem to regard it much; and as we ſaw few ſigns of its deſtroying effects, probably the climate, and the way of living of theſe people, greatly abate its virulence. There are two other diſeaſes frequent amongſt them; one of which is an indolent firm ſwelling, which affects the legs and arms, and increaſes them to an extraordinary ſize in their whole length. The other is a tumour of the ſame ſort, in the teſticles, which ſometimes exceed the ſize of the two fiſts. But, in other reſpects, they may be conſidered as uncommonly healthy; not a ſingle perſon having been ſeen, during our ſtay, confined to the houſe, by ſickneſs of any kind. On the contrary, their ſtrength and activity are, every way, anſwerable to their muſcular appearance; and they exert both, in their uſual employment, and in their diverſions, in ſuch a manner, that there can be no doubt of their being, as yet, little debilitated by the numerous diſeaſes that are the conſequence of indolence, and an unnatural method of life. 1777. July.

The graceful air and firm ſtep with which theſe people walk, are not the leaſt obvious proof of their perſonal accompliſhments. They conſider this as a thing ſo natural, or ſo neceſſary to be acquired, that nothing uſed to excite their laughter ſooner, than to ſee us frequently ſtumbling upon the roots of trees, or other inequalities of the ground.

Their countenances very remarkably expreſs the abundant mildneſs, or good nature, which they poſſeſs; and are entirely free from that ſavage keenneſs which marks nations

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tions in a barbarous ſtate. One would, indeed, be apt to fancy, that they had been bred up under the ſevereſt reſtrictions, to acquire an aſpect ſo ſettled, and ſuch a command of their paſſions, as well as ſteadineſs in conduct. But they are, at the ſame time, frank, cheerful, and good-humoured; though, ſometimes, in the preſence of their Chiefs, they put on a degree of gravity, and ſuch a ſerious air as becomes ſtiff and awkward, and has an appearance of reſerve.

Their peaceable diſpoſition is ſufficiently evinced, from the friendly reception all ſtrangers have met with, who have viſited them. Inſtead of offering to attack them openly, or clandeſtinely, as has been the caſe with moſt of the inhabitants of theſe ſeas, they have never appeared, in the ſmalleſt degree, hoſtile; but, on the contrary, like the moſt civilized people, have courted an intercourſe with their viſiters, by bartering, which is the only medium that unites all nations in a ſort of friendſhip. They underſtand barter (which they call *fukkatou)* ſo perfectly, that, at firſt, we imagined they might have acquired this knowledge of it by commercial intercourſe with the neighbouring iſlands; but we were afterward aſſured, that they had little or no traffic, except with Feejee, from which they get the red feathers, and the few other articles, mentioned before. Perhaps, no nation in the world traffic with more honeſty and leſs diſtruſt. We could always ſafely permit them to examine our goods, and to hand them about, one to another; and they put the ſame confidence in us. If either party repented of the bargain, the goods were re-exchanged with mutual conſent and good-humour. Upon the whole, they ſeem poſſeſſed of many of the moſt excellent qualities that adorn the human mind; ſuch as induſtry, ingenuity, perſeverance, affability, and,

and, perhaps, other virtues which our ſhort ſtay with them might prevent our obſerving. 1777. July.

The only defect ſullying their character, that we know of, is a propenſity to thieving; to which, we found, thoſe of all ages, and both ſexes, addicted; and to an uncommon degree. It ſhould, however, be conſidered, that this exceptionable part of their conduct ſeemed to exiſt merely with reſpect to us; for, in their general intercourſe with one another, I had reaſon to be of opinion, that thefts do not happen more frequently (perhaps leſs ſo) than in other countries, the diſhoneſt practices of whoſe worthleſs individuals are not ſuppoſed to authorize any indiſcriminate cenſure on the whole body of the people. Great allowances ſhould be made for the foibles of theſe poor natives of the Pacific Ocean, whoſe minds we overpowered with the glare of objects, equally new to them, as they were captivating. Stealing, amongſt the civilized and enlightened nations of the world, may well be conſidered as denoting a character deeply ſtained with moral turpitude, with avarice unreſtrained by the known rules of right, and with profligacy producing extreme indigence, and neglecting the means of relieving it. But at the Friendly and other iſlands which we viſited, the thefts, ſo frequently committed by the natives, of what we had brought along with us, may be fairly traced to leſs culpable motives. They ſeemed to ariſe, ſolely, from an intenſe curioſity or deſire to poſſeſs ſomething which they had not been accuſtomed to before, and belonging to a ſort of people ſo different from themſelves. And, perhaps, if it were poſſible, that a ſet of beings, ſeemingly as ſuperior in our judgment, as we are in theirs, ſhould appear amongſt us, it might be doubted, whether our natural regard to juſtice would be able to reſtrain

1777. July. ſtrain many from falling into the ſame error. That I have aſſigned the true motive for their propenſity to this practice, appears from their ſtealing every thing indiſcriminately at firſt ſight, before they could have the leaſt conception of converting their prize to any one uſeful purpoſe. But, I believe, with us, no perſon would forfeit his reputation, or expoſe himſelf to puniſhment, without knowing, before hand, how to employ the ſtolen goods. Upon the whole, the pilfering diſpoſition of theſe iſlanders, though certainly diſagreeable and troubleſome to ſtrangers, was the means of affording us ſome information as to the quickneſs of their intellects. For their ſmall thefts were committed with much dexterity; and thoſe of greater conſequence with a plan or ſcheme ſuited to the importance of the objects. An extraordinary inſtance of the laſt ſort, their attempts to carry away one of the Diſcovery's anchors, at mid-day, has been already related.

Their hair is, in general, ſtraight, thick, and ſtrong; though a few have it buſhy or frizzled. The natural colour, I believe, almoſt without exception, is black; but the greateſt part of the men, and ſome of the women, have it ſtained of a brown, or purple colour; and a few of an orange caſt. The firſt colour is produced by applying a ſort of plaſter of burnt coral, mixed with water; the ſecond, by the raſpings of a reddiſh wood, which is made up with water into a poultice, and laid over the hair; and the third is, I believe, the effect of *turmeric* root.

When I firſt viſited theſe iſlands, I thought it had been an univerſal cuſtom for both men and women to wear the hair ſhort; but, during our preſent longer ſtay, we ſaw a great many exceptions. Indeed, they are ſo whimſical in their faſhions

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ſhions of wearing it, that it is hard to tell which is moſt in vogue. Some have it cut off one ſide of the head, while that on the other ſide remains long; ſome have only a portion of it cut ſhort, or, perhaps, ſhaved; others have it entirely cut off, except a ſingle lock, which is left commonly on one ſide; or, it is ſuffered to grow to its full length, without any of theſe mutilations. The women, in general, wear it ſhort. The men have their beards cut ſhort; and both men and women ſtrip the hair from their armpits. The operation by which this is performed has been already deſcribed. The men are ſtained from about the middle of the belly, to about half way down the thighs, with a deep blue colour. This is done with a flat bone inſtrument, cut full of fine teeth, which, being dipped in the ſtaining mixture, prepared from the juice of the *dooe dooe*, is ſtruck into the ſkin with a bit of ſtick; and, by that means, indelible marks are made. In this manner they trace lines and figures, which, in ſome, are very elegant, both from the variety, and from the arrangement. The women have only a few ſmall lines or ſpots, thus imprinted, on the inſide of their hands. Their kings, as a mark of diſtinction, are exempted from this cuſtom, as alſo from inflicting on themſelves any of thoſe bloody marks of mourning, which ſhall be mentioned in another place.

The men are all circumciſed, or rather ſuperciſed; as the operation conſiſts in cutting off only a ſmall piece of the foreſkin, at the upper part; which, by that means, is rendered incapable, ever after, of covering the *glans*. This is all they aim at; as they ſay, the operation is practiſed from a notion of cleanlineſs.

The dreſs of both men and women is the ſame; and conſiſts of a piece of cloth or matting (but moſtly the

1777. July. former), about two yards wide, and two and a half long; at leaſt, ſo long as to go once and a half round the waiſt, to which it is confined by a girdle or cord. It is double before, and hangs down, like a petticoat, as low as the middle of the leg. The upper part of the garment, above the girdle, is plaited into ſeveral folds; ſo that, when unfolded, there is cloth ſufficient to draw up and wrap round the ſhoulders; which is very ſeldom done. This, as to form, is the general dreſs; but large pieces of cloth, and fine matting, are worn only by the ſuperior people. The inferior ſort are ſatisfied with ſmall pieces; and, very often, wear nothing but a covering made of leaves of plants, or the *maro*, which is a narrow piece of cloth, or matting, like a ſaſh. This they paſs between the thighs, and wrap round the waiſt; but the uſe of it is chiefly confined to the men. In their great *haivas*, or entertainments, they have various dreſſes made for the purpoſe; but the form is always the ſame; and the richeſt dreſſes are covered, more or leſs, with red feathers. On what particular occaſion their Chiefs wear their large red feather-caps, I could not learn. Both men and women ſometimes ſhade their faces from the ſun with little bonnets, made of various materials.

As the clothing, ſo are the ornaments, worn by thoſe of both ſexes, the ſame. The moſt common of theſe are necklaces, made of the fruit of the *pandanus*, and various ſweet-ſmelling flowers, which go under the general name of *kahulla*. Others are compoſed of ſmall ſhells, the wing and leg-bones of birds, ſhark's teeth, and other things; all which hang looſe upon the breaſt. In the ſame manner, they often wear a mother-of-pearl ſhell, neatly poliſhed, or a ring of the ſame ſubſtance carved, on the upper part

of the arm; rings of tortoiſe-ſhell on the fingers; and a number of theſe, joined together, as bracelets on the wriſts. 1777. July.

The lobes of the ears (though, moſt frequently, only one) are perforated with two holes, in which they wear cylindrical bits of ivory, about three inches long, introduced at one hole, and brought out of the other; or bits of reed of the ſame ſize, filled with a yellow pigment. This ſeems to be a fine powder of *turmeric*, with which the women rub themſelves all over, in the ſame manner as our ladies uſe their dry rouge upon the cheeks.

Nothing appears to give them greater pleaſure than perſonal cleanlineſs; to produce which, they frequently bathe in the ponds, which ſeem to ſerve no other purpoſe *. Though the water in moſt of them ſtinks intolerably, they prefer them to the ſea; and they are ſo ſenſible that ſalt water hurts their ſkin, that, when neceſſity obliges them to bathe in the ſea, they commonly have ſome cocoa-nut ſhells, filled with freſh water, poured over them, to waſh it off. They are immoderately fond of cocoa-nut oil for the ſame reaſon; a great quantity of which they not only pour upon their head and ſhoulders, but rub the body all over, briſkly, with a ſmaller quantity. And none but thoſe who have ſeen this practice, can eaſily conceive how the appearance of the ſkin is improved by it. This oil, however, is not to be procured by every one; and the inferior ſort of people, doubtleſs, appear leſs ſmooth for want of it.

* So at the Caroline Iſlands. "Ils ſont accoutemés a ſe baigner trois fois, le jour, le matin, à midi, & ſur le ſoir."

Lettres Edifiantes & Curieuſes, Tom. xv. p. 314.

CHAP.

CHAP. XI.

Employments of the Women, at the Friendly Iſlands.—Of the Men.—Agriculture.—Conſtruction of their Houſes.—Their working Tools.—Cordage, and fiſhing Implements.—Muſical Inſtruments.—Weapons.—Food, and Cookery.—Amuſements.—Marriage.—Mourning Ceremonies for the Dead.—Their Divinities.—Notions about the Soul, and a future State.—Their Places of Worſhip.—Government.—Manner of paying Obeiſance to the King.—Account of the Royal Family.—Remarks on their Language, and a Specimen of it.—Nautical, and other Obſervations.

1777. July. THEIR domeſtic life is of that middle kind, neither ſo laborious as to be diſagreeable, nor ſo vacant as to ſuffer them to degenerate into indolence. Nature has done ſo much for their country, that the firſt can hardly occur, and their diſpoſition ſeems to be a pretty good bar to the laſt. By this happy combination of circumſtances, their neceſſary labour ſeems to yield, in its turn, to their recreations, in ſuch a manner, that the latter are never interrupted by the thoughts of being obliged to recur to the former, till ſatiety makes them wiſh for ſuch a tranſition.

The employment of the women is of the eaſy kind, and, for the moſt part, ſuch as may be executed in the houſe. The manufacturing their cloth, is wholly conſigned to their care.

care. Having already deſcribed the proceſs, I ſhall only add, that they have this cloth of different degrees of fineneſs. The coarſer ſort, of which they make very large pieces, does not receive the impreſſion of any pattern. Of the finer ſort, they have ſome that is ſtriped, and chequered, and of other patterns differently coloured. But how theſe colours are laid on, I cannot ſay, as I never ſaw any of this ſort made. The cloth, in general, will reſiſt water, for ſome time; but that which has the ſtrongeſt glaze will reſiſt longeſt. 1777. July.

The manufacture next in conſequence, and alſo within the department of the women, is that of their mats, which excel every thing I have ſeen at any other place, both as to their texture and their beauty. In particular, many of them are ſo ſuperior to thoſe made at Otaheite, that they are not a bad article to carry thither, by way of trade. Of theſe mats, they have ſeven or eight different ſorts, for the purpoſes of wearing or ſleeping upon; and many are merely ornamental. The laſt are chiefly made from the tough, membraneous part of the ſtock of the plantain tree; thoſe that they wear, from the *pandanus*, cultivated for that purpoſe, and never ſuffered to ſhoot into a trunk; and the coarſer ſort, which they ſleep upon, from a plant called *evarra*. There are many other articles of leſs note, that employ the ſpare time of their females; as combs, of which they make vaſt numbers; and little baſkets made of the ſame ſubſtance as the mats, and others of the fibrous cocoa-nut huſk, either plain, or interwoven with ſmall beads; but all, finiſhed with ſuch neatneſs and taſte in the diſpoſition of the various parts, that a ſtranger cannot help admiring their aſſiduity and dexterity.

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The province allotted to the men is, as might be expected, far more laborious and extenſive than that of the women. Agriculture, architecture, boat-building, fiſhing, and other things that relate to navigation, are the objects of their care*. Cultivated roots and fruits being their principal ſupport, this requires their conſtant attention to agriculture, which they purſue very diligently, and ſeem to have brought almoſt to as great perfection as circumſtances will permit. The large extent of the plantain fields has been taken notice of already; and the ſame may be ſaid of the yams; theſe two together, being, at leaſt, as ten to one, with reſpect to all the other articles. In planting both theſe, they dig ſmall holes for their reception, and, afterward, root up the ſurrounding graſs, which, in this hot country, is quickly deprived of its vegetating power, and, ſoon rotting, becomes a good manure. The inſtruments they uſe for this purpoſe, which they call *hooo*, are nothing more than pickets or ſtakes of different lengths, according to the depth they have to dig. Theſe are flattened and ſharpened to an edge at one end; and the largeſt have a ſhort piece fixed tranſverſely, for preſſing it into the ground with the foot. With theſe, though they are not more than from two to four inches broad, they dig and plant ground of many acres in extent. In planting the plantains and yams, they obſerve ſo much exactneſs, that, whichever way you look, the rows preſent themſelves regular and complete.

* How remarkably does Captain Cook's account of the employments of the women and men here, agree with Father Cantova's, of the Caroline Iſlanders?—"La "principale occupation des hommes, eſt de conſtruire des barques, de pecher, & de "cultiver la terre. L'affaire des femmes eſt de faire la cuiſine, & de mettre en "œuvre un eſpece de plante ſauvage, & un arbre,—pour en faire de la toile."

Lettres Edifiantes & Curieuſes, Tom. xv. p. 313.

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The cocoa-nut and bread-fruit trees are ſcattered about, without any order, and ſeem to give them no trouble, after they have attained a certain height. The ſame may be ſaid of another large tree, which produces great numbers of a large, roundiſh, compreſſed nut, called *eeefee*; and of a ſmaller tree, that bears a rounded oval nut, two inches long, with two or three triangular kernels, tough and inſipid, called *mabba*, moſt frequently planted near their houſes.

The *kappe* is, commonly, regularly planted, and in pretty large ſpots; but the *mawhaha* is interſperſed amongſt other things, as the *jeejee* and *yams* are; the laſt of which, I have frequently ſeen, in the interſpaces of the plantain trees, at their common diſtance. Sugar-cane is commonly in ſmall ſpots, crowded cloſely together; and the mulberry, of which the cloth is made, though without order, has ſufficient room allowed for it, and is kept very clean. The only other plant, that they cultivate for their manufactures, is the *pandanus*; which is generally planted in a row, cloſe together, at the ſides of the other fields; and they conſider it as a thing ſo diſtinct in this ſtate, that they have a different name for it; which ſhews, that they are very ſenſible of the great changes brought about by cultivation.

It is remarkable, that theſe people, who, in many things, ſhew much taſte and ingenuity, ſhould ſhew little of either in building their houſes; though the defect is rather in the deſign, than in the execution. Thoſe of the lower people are poor huts, ſcarcely ſufficient to defend them from the weather, and very ſmall. Thoſe of the better ſort, are larger and more comfortable; but not what one might expect. The dimenſions of one of a middling ſize, are about thirty feet long, twenty broad, and twelve high. Their houſe is, properly ſpeaking, a thatched roof or ſhed, ſup-

1777. July. ported by poſts and rafters, diſpoſed in a very judicious manner. The floor is raiſed with earth ſmoothed, and covered with ſtrong, thick matting, and kept very clean. The moſt of them are cloſed on the weather ſide (and ſome more than two-thirds round), with ſtrong mats, or with branches of the cocoa-nut tree, plaited or woven into each other. Theſe they fix up edgewiſe, reaching from the eaves to the ground; and thus they anſwer the purpoſe of a wall. A thick, ſtrong mat, about two and one half or three feet broad, bent into the form of a ſemicircle, and ſet upon its edge, with the ends touching the ſide of the houſe, in ſhape reſembling the fender of a fire hearth, incloſes a ſpace for the maſter and miſtreſs of the family to ſleep in. The lady, indeed, ſpends moſt of her time, during the day, within it. The reſt of the family ſleep upon the floor, wherever they pleaſe to lie down; the unmarried men and women apart from each other. Or, if the family be large, there are ſmall huts adjoining, to which the ſervants retire in the night; ſo that privacy is as much obſerved here, as one could expect. They have mats made on purpoſe for ſleeping on; and the clothes that they wear in the day, ſerve for their covering in the night. Their whole furniture conſiſts of a bowl or two, in which they make *kava*; a few gourds; cocoa-nut ſhells; ſome ſmall wooden ſtools, which ſerve them for pillows; and, perhaps, a large ſtool for the Chief, or Maſter, of the family to ſit upon.

The only probable reaſon I can aſſign for their neglect of ornamental architecture, in the conſtruction of their houſes, is their being fond of living much in the open air. Indeed, they ſeem to conſider their houſes, within which they ſeldom eat, as of little uſe but to ſleep in, and to retire to in bad weather. And the lower ſort of people, who ſpend a great part

part of their time in clofe attendance upon the Chiefs, can have little ufe for their own houfes, but in the laft cafe. 1777. July.

They make amends for the defects of their houfes, by their great attention to, and dexterity in, naval architecture, if I may be allowed to give it that name. But I refer to the narrative of my laft voyage, for an account of their canoes, and their manner of building and navigating them.*

The only tools which they ufe, to conftruct thefe boats, are hatchets, or rather thick adzes, of a fmooth black ftone that abounds at Toofoa; augres, made of fhark's teeth, fixed on fmall handles; and rafps, of a rough fkin of a fifh, faftened on flat pieces of wood, thinner on one fide, which alfo have handles. The labour and time employed in finifhing their canoes, which are the moft perfect of their mechanical productions, will account for their being very careful of them. For they are built and preferved under fheds; or they cover the decked part of them with cocoa-leaves, when they are hauled on fhore, to prevent their being hurt by the fun.

The fame tools are all they have for other works; if we except different fhells, which they ufe as knives. But there are few of their productions that require thefe, unlefs it be fome of their weapons; the other articles being chiefly their fifhing materials, and cordage.

The cordage is made from the fibres of the cocoa-nut huſk, which, though not more than nine or ten inches long, they plait, about the fize of a quill, or lefs, to any length

* Cook's Voyage, Vol. i. p. 215, 216. The reader, by comparing that account, with what Cantova fays of the fea-boats of the Caroline Iſlands, will find, in this inſtance, alſo, the greateſt ſimilarity. See *Lettres Edifiantes & Curieuſes*, p. 286.

1777. July. that they pleaſe, and roll it up in balls; from which the larger ropes are made, by twiſting ſeveral of theſe together. The lines, that they fiſh with, are as ſtrong and even as the beſt cord we make, reſembling it almoſt in every reſpect. Their other fiſhing implements, are large and ſmall hooks. The laſt are compoſed entirely of pearl-ſhell; but the firſt are only covered with it on the back; and the points of both, commonly, of tortoiſe-ſhell; thoſe of the ſmall being plain, and the others barbed. With the large ones, they catch bonnetos and albicores, by putting them to a bamboo rod, twelve or fourteen feet long, with a line of the ſame length, which reſts in a notch of a piece of wood, fixed in the ſtern of the canoe for that purpoſe, and is dragged on the ſurface of the ſea, as ſhe rowes along, without any other bait than a tuft of flaxy ſtuff near the point. They have alſo great numbers of pretty ſmall ſeines, ſome of which are of a very delicate texture. Theſe they uſe to catch fiſh with, in the holes on the reefs, when the tide ebbs.

The other manual employments, conſiſt chiefly in making muſical reeds, flutes, warlike weapons, and ſtools, or rather pillows, to ſleep on. The reeds have eight, nine, or ten pieces placed parallel to each other, but not in any regular progreſſion; having the longeſt, ſometimes, in the middle, and ſeveral of the ſame length; ſo that I have ſeen none with more than ſix notes; and they ſeem incapable of playing any muſic on them, that is diſtinguiſhable by our ears*. The flutes are a joint of bamboo, cloſe at both ends, with a hole near each, and four others; two of which, and one of the firſt only, are uſed in playing. They apply the thumb

* See a drawing of one of theſe muſical reeds, in Captain Cook's Voyage, Vol. i. p. 221. Plate XXI.

of the left hand, to cloſe the left noſtril, and blow into the hole at one end, with the other. The middle finger of the left hand is applied to the firſt hole on the left, and the fore-finger of the right, to the loweſt hole on that ſide. In this manner, though the notes are only three, they produce a pleaſing, yet ſimple, muſic, which they vary much more than one would think poſſible, with ſo imperfect an inſtrument. Their being accuſtomed to a muſic which conſiſts of ſo few notes, is, perhaps, the reaſon why they do not ſeem to reliſh any of ours, which is ſo complex. But they can taſte what is more deficient than their own; for, we obſerved, that they uſed to be well pleaſed with hearing the chant of our two young New Zealanders, which conſiſted rather in mere ſtrength, than in melody of expreſſion. 1777. July.

The weapons, which they make, are clubs of different ſorts (in the ornamenting of which they ſpend much time), ſpears, and darts. They have alſo bows and arrows; but theſe ſeemed to be deſigned only for amuſement, ſuch as ſhooting at birds, and not for military purpoſes. The ſtools are about two feet long, but only four or five inches high, and near four broad, bending downward in the middle, with four ſtrong legs, and circular feet; the whole made of one piece of black or brown wood, neatly poliſhed, and ſometimes inlaid with bits of ivory. They alſo inlay the handles of fly flaps with ivory, after being neatly carved; and they ſhape bones into ſmall figures of men, birds, and other things, which muſt be very difficult, as their carving inſtrument is only a ſhark's tooth.

Yams, plantains, and cocoa nuts, compoſe the greateſt part of their vegetable diet. Of their animal food, the chief articles are hogs, fowls, fiſh, and all ſorts of ſhell-fiſh; but the lower people eat rats. The two firſt vegetable articles, with

1777. July. with bread-fruit, are, what may be called, the baſis of their food, at different times of the year, with fiſh and ſhell-fiſh; for hogs, fowls, and turtle, ſeem only to be occaſional dainties, reſerved for their Chiefs. The intervals between the ſeaſons of theſe vegetable productions muſt be, ſometimes, conſiderable, as they prepare a ſort of artificial bread from plantains, which they put under ground before ripe, and ſuffer them to remain, till they ferment, when they are taken out, and made up into ſmall balls; but ſo ſour and indifferent, that they often ſaid our bread was preferable, though ſomewhat muſty.

Their food is, generally, dreſſed by baking, in the ſame manner as at Otaheite; and they have the art of making, from different kinds of fruit, ſeveral diſhes, which moſt of us eſteemed very good. I never ſaw them make uſe of any kind of ſauce; nor drink any thing at their meals but water, or the juice of the cocoa-nut; for the *kava* is only their morning draught. I cannot ſay, that they are cleanly either in their cookery, or manner of eating. The generality of them will lay their victuals upon the firſt leaf they meet with, however dirty it may be; but when food is ſerved up to the Chiefs, it is, commonly, laid upon green plantain leaves. When the king made a meal, he was, for the moſt part, attended upon by three or four perſons. One cut large pieces of the joint, or of the fiſh; another divided it into mouthfuls; and others ſtood by with cocoa-nuts, and whatever elſe he might want. I never ſaw a large company ſit down to what we ſhould call a ſociable meal, by eating from the ſame diſh. The food, be what it will, is always divided into portions, each to ſerve a certain number; theſe portions are again ſubdivided; ſo that one ſeldom ſees above two or three perſons eating together. The women

are not excluded from eating with the men; but there are certain ranks or orders amongſt them, that can neither eat nor drink together. This diſtinction begins with the king; but where it ends, I cannot ſay. 1777. July.

They ſeem to have no ſet time for meals; though it ſhould be obſerved, that, during our ſtay amongſt them, their domeſtic œconomy was much diſturbed by their conſtant attention to us. As far as we could remark, thoſe of the ſuperior rank, only drink *kava* in the forenoon; and the others eat, perhaps, a bit of yam; but we commonly ſaw all of them eat ſomething in the afternoon. It is probable that the practice of making a meal in the night is pretty common, and their reſt being thus interrupted, they frequently ſleep in the day. They go to bed as ſoon as it is dark, and riſe with the dawn in the morning *.

They are very fond of aſſociating together; ſo that it is common to find ſeveral houſes empty, and the owners of them convened in ſome other one, or, rather, upon a convenient ſpot in the neighbourhood, where they recreate themſelves by converſing, and other amuſements. Their private diverſions are chiefly ſinging, dancing, and muſic performed by the women. When two or three women ſing in concert, and ſnap their fingers, it is called *oobai*; but when there is a greater number, they divide into ſeveral parties, each of which ſings on a different key, which makes a very agreeable muſic, and is called *heeva*, or *haiva*. In the ſame manner, they vary the muſic of their flutes, by playing on thoſe of a different ſize; but their dancing is much the ſame as when they perform publickly. The dancing

* Cantova ſays of his iſlanders, "Ils prennent leur repos des que le ſoleil eſt couché, "& ils ſe levent avec l'aurore." *Lettres Edifiantes & Curieuſes*, Tom. xv. p. 314.

of

1777. July. of the men (if it is to be called dancing), although it does not conſiſt much in moving the feet, as we do, has a thouſand different motions with the hands, to which we are entire ſtrangers; and they are performed with an eaſe and grace which are not to be deſcribed, nor even conceived, but by thoſe who have ſeen them. But I need add nothing to what has been already ſaid on this ſubject, in the account of the incidents that happened during our ſtay at the iſlands *.

Whether their marriages be made laſting by any kind of ſolemn contract, we could not determine with preciſion; but

* If, to the copious deſcriptions that occur in the preceding pages, of the particular entertainments exhibited in Hapaee and Tongataboo, we add the general view of the uſual amuſements of the inhabitants of theſe iſlands, contained in this paragraph, and compare it with the quotation from the Jeſuit's Letters, in a former note (p. 255.), we ſhall be ſtill more forcibly ſtruck with the reaſonableneſs of tracing ſuch ſingularly reſembling cuſtoms to one common ſource. The argument, in confirmation of this, drawn from identity of language, has been already illuſtrated, by obſerving the remarkable coincidence of the name, by which the Chiefs at the Caroline Iſlands, and thoſe at Hamao, one of the Friendly ones, are diſtinguiſhed. But the argument does not reſt on a ſingle inſtance, though that happens to be a very ſtriking one. Another of the very few ſpecimens of the dialect of the North Pacific Iſlanders, preſerved by father Cantova, furniſhes an additional proof. Immediately after the paſſage above referred to, he proceeds thus: "Ce divertiſſement s'appelle, en leur "langue, *tanger ifaifil*; qui veut dire, la plainte des femmes." *Lettres Edifiantes & Curieuſes*, Tom. xv. p. 315. Now it is very remarkable, that we learn from Mr. Anderſon's collection of words, which will appear in this chapter, that *la plainte des femmes*, or, in Engliſh, *the mournful ſong of the women*, which the inhabitants of the Caroline Iſlands expreſs in their language *tanger ifaifil*, would, by thoſe of Tongataboo, be expreſſed *tangee vefaine*.

If any one ſhould ſtill doubt, in ſpite of this evidence, it may be recommended to his conſideration, that long ſeparation, and other cauſes, have introduced greater variations in the mode of pronouncing theſe two words, at places confeſſedly inhabited by the ſame race, than ſubſiſt in the ſpecimen juſt given. It appears, from Mr. Anderſon's vocabulary, printed in Captain Cook's ſecond voyage, that what is pronounced *tangee* at the Friendly Iſlands, is *taee* at Otaheite; and the *vefaine* of the former, is the *wahein*e of the latter.

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it is certain, that the bulk of the people ſatisfied themſelves with one wife. The Chiefs, however, have, commonly, ſeveral women *; though ſome of us were of opinion, that there was only one that was looked upon as the miſtreſs of the family. 1777. July.

As female chaſtity, at firſt ſight, ſeemed to be held in no great eſtimation, we expected to have found frequent breaches of their conjugal fidelity; but we did them great injuſtice. I do not know that a ſingle inſtance happened during our whole ſtay †. Neither are thoſe of the better ſort, that are unmarried, more free of their favours. It is true, there was no want of thoſe of a different character; and, perhaps, ſuch are more frequently met with here, in proportion to the number of people, than in many other countries. But it appeared to me, that the moſt, if not all of them, were of the loweſt claſs; and ſuch of them as permitted familiarities to our people, were proſtitutes by profeſſion.

Nothing can be a greater proof of the humanity of theſe people, than the concern they ſhew for the dead ‡. To uſe a common expreſſion, their mourning is not in words but deeds. For, beſides the *tooge* mentioned before, and burnt circles and ſcars, they beat the teeth with ſtones, ſtrike a ſhark's tooth into the head until the blood flows in ſtreams, and thruſt ſpears into the inner part of the thigh, into their

* Cantova ſays of his Caroline iſlanders, "La pluralité des femmes eſt non "ſeulement permiſe à tous ces inſulaires, elle eſt encore une marque d'honneur & "de diſtinction. Le *Tamole* de l'iſle d'Huogoleu en a neuf."

Lettres Edifiantes & Curieuſes, Tom. xv. p. 310.

† At the Caroline Iſlands, "Ils ont horreur de l'adultere, comme d'une grand "péché." *Ibid.* Tom. xv. p. 310.

‡ How the inhabitants of the Caroline Iſlands expreſs their grief on ſuch occaſions, may be ſeen, *Ibid.* Tom. xv. p. 308.

1777. July. ſides below the arm-pits, and through the cheeks into the mouth. All theſe operations convey an idea of ſuch rigorous diſcipline, as muſt require either an uncommon degree of affection, or the groſſeſt ſuperſtition, to exact. I will not ſay, that the laſt has no ſhare in it; for, ſometimes, it is ſo univerſal, that many could not have any knowledge of the perſon for whom the concern is expreſſed. Thus we ſaw the people of Tongataboo mourning the death of a Chief at Vavaoo; and other ſimilar inſtances occurred during our ſtay. It ſhould be obſerved, however, that the more painful operations are only practiſed on account of the death of thoſe moſt nearly connected with the mourners. When a perſon dies, he is buried, after being wrapped up in mats and cloth, much after our manner. The Chiefs ſeem to have the *fiatookas* appropriated to them as their burial-places; but the common people are interred in no particular ſpot *. What part of the mourning ceremony follows, immediately after, is uncertain; but, that there is ſomething beſides the general one, which is continued for a conſiderable length of time, we could infer, from being informed, that the funeral of Mareewagee's wife, as mentioned before, was to be attended with ceremonies that were to laſt five days; and in which all the principal people were to commemorate her.

Their long and general mourning, proves that they conſider death as a very great evil. And this is confirmed by a

* Cantova's account of the practice of the Caroline Iſlands is as follows: "Lorſ-
"qu'il meurt quelque perſonne d'un rang diſtingué, ou qui leur eſt chere par d'autres
"endroits, ſes obſeques ſe font avec pompe. Il y en a qui renferment le corps du
"défunct dans un petit edifice de pierre, qu'ils gardent au-dedans de leur maiſons.
"D'autres les enterrent loin de leurs habitations."

Lettres Edifiantes & Curieuſes, Tom. xv. p. 308, 309.

very

very odd cuſtom which they practiſe to avert it. When I firſt viſited theſe Iſlands, during my laſt voyage, I obſerved that many of the inhabitants had one or both of their little fingers cut off; and we could not then receive any ſatisfactory account of the reaſon of this mutilation *. But we now learned, that this operation is performed when they labour under ſome grievous diſeaſe, and think themſelves in danger of dying. They ſuppoſe, that the Deity will accept of the little finger, as a ſort of ſacrifice efficacious enough to procure the recovery of their health. They cut it off with one of their ſtone hatchets. There was ſcarcely one in ten of them whom we did not find thus mutilated, in one or both hands; which has a diſagreeable effect, eſpecially as they ſometimes cut ſo cloſe, that they encroach upon the bone of the hand which joins to the amputated finger †. 1777. July.

From the rigid ſeverity with which ſome of theſe mourning and religious ceremonies are executed, one would expect to find, that they meant thereby to ſecure to themſelves felicity beyond the grave; but their principal object relates to things merely temporal. For they ſeem to have little conception of future puniſhment for faults committed in this life. They believe, however, that they are juſtly puniſhed upon earth; and, conſequently, uſe every method to render their divinities propitious. The Supreme Author of moſt things they call *Kallafootonga;* who, they ſay, is a female, reſiding in the ſky, and directing the thunder, wind, rain; and, in general, all the changes of weather. They

* See Cook's Voyage, Vol. i. p. 222.

† It may be proper to mention here, on the authority of Captain King, that it is common for the inferior people to cut off a joint of their little finger, on account of the ſickneſs of the Chiefs to whom they belong.

1777. July. believe, that when ſhe is angry with them, the productions of the earth are blaſted; that many things are deſtroyed by lightning; and that they themſelves are afflicted with ſickneſs and death, as well as their hogs and other animals. When this anger abates, they ſuppoſe that every thing is reſtored to its natural order; and it ſhould ſeem, that they have a great reliance on the efficacy of their endeavours to appeaſe their offended divinity. They alſo admit a plurality of deities, though all inferior to *Kallafootonga*. Amongſt them, they mention *Toofooa-boolootoo*, God of the clouds and fog; *Talleteboo*, and ſome others, reſiding in the heavens. The firſt in rank and power, who has the government of the ſea, and its productions, is called *Futtafaike*, or, as it was ſometimes pronounced, *Footafooa*; who, they ſay, is a male, and has for his wife *Fykava kajeea*: and here, as in heaven, there are ſeveral inferior potentates, ſuch as *Vahaa fonooa*, *Tareeava*, *Mattaba*, *Evaroo*, and others. The ſame religious ſyſtem, however, does not extend all over the cluſter of the Friendly Iſles; for the ſupreme God of *Hapaee*, for inſtance, is called *Alo Alo*; and other iſles have two or three, of different names. But their notions of the power, and other attributes of theſe beings, are ſo very abſurd, that they ſuppoſe they have no farther concern with them after death.

They have, however, very proper ſentiments about the immateriality and the immortality of the ſoul. They call it life, the living principle, or, what is more agreeable to their notions of it, an *Otooa*; that is, a divinity, or inviſible being. They ſay, that, immediately upon death, the ſouls of their Chiefs ſeparate from their bodies, and go to a place called *Boolootoo*; the Chief, or god, of which, is *Gooleho*. This *Gooleho* ſeems to be a perſonification of death; for they uſed to ſay to us, "You, and the men of Feejee (by this junc-

" tion, meaning to pay a compliment, expreſſive of their " confeſſion of our ſuperiority over themſelves), are alſo " ſubject to the power and dominion of *Gooleho*." His country, the general receptacle of the dead, according to their mythology, was never ſeen by any perſon; and yet, it ſeems, they know that it lies to the Weſtward of Feejee; and that they who are once tranſported thither, live for ever; or, to uſe their own expreſſion, are not ſubject to death again; but feaſt upon all the favourite products of their own country, with which this everlaſting abode is ſuppoſed to abound. As to the ſouls of the lower ſort of people, they undergo a ſort of tranſmigration; or, as they ſay, are eat up by a bird called *loata*, which walks upon their graves for that purpoſe. 1777. July.

I think I may venture to aſſert, that they do not worſhip any thing that is the work of their own hands, or any viſible part of the creation. They do not make offerings of hogs, dogs, and fruit, as at Otaheite, unleſs it be emblematically; for their *morais* were perfectly free from every thing of the kind. But that they offer real human ſacrifices, is, with me, beyond a doubt. Their *morais*, or *ſiatookas* (for they are called by both names, but moſtly by the latter), are, as at Otaheite, and many other parts of the world, burying-grounds, and places of worſhip; though ſome of them ſeemed to be only appropriated to the firſt purpoſe; but theſe were ſmall, and, in every other reſpect, inferior to the others.

Of the nature of their government, we know no more than the general outline. A ſubordination is eſtabliſhed among them, that reſembles the feudal ſyſtem of our progenitors in Europe. But of its ſubdiviſions, of the conſtituent parts, and

1777. July. and in what manner they are connected, ſo as to form a body politic, I confeſs myſelf totally ignorant. Some of them told us, that the power of the king is unlimited, and that the life and property of the ſubject is at his diſpoſal. But the few circumſtances that fell under our obſervation, rather contradicted than confirmed the idea of a deſpotic government. Mareewagee, old Tooboo, and Feenou, acted each like petty ſovereigns, and frequently thwarted the meaſures of the king; of which he often complained. Neither was his court more ſplendid than thoſe of the two firſt, who are the moſt powerful Chiefs in the iſlands; and, next to them, Feenou, Mareewagee's ſon, ſeemed to ſtand higheſt in authority. But, however independent on the deſpotic power of the king the great men may be, we ſaw inſtances enough to prove, that the lower order of people have no property, nor ſafety for their perſons, but at the will of the Chiefs to whom they reſpectively belong.

Tongataboo is divided into many diſtricts; of above thirty of which we learned the names. Each of theſe has its particular Chief, who decides differences, and diſtributes juſtice within his own diſtrict. But we could not form any ſatisfactory judgment about the extent of their power in general, or their mode of proportioning puniſhments to crimes. Moſt of theſe Chiefs have poſſeſſions in other iſlands, from whence they draw ſupplies. At leaſt, we know this is ſo with reſpect to the king, who, at certain eſtabliſhed times, receives the product of his diſtant domains at Tongataboo; which is not only the principal place of his reſidence, but, ſeemingly, of all the people of conſequence amongſt theſe iſles. Its inhabitants, in common converſation, call it the Land of Chiefs; while the ſubordinate iſles are diſtinguiſhed by the appellation of Lands of Servants.

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Theſe Chiefs are, by the people, ſtyled not only Lords of the Earth, but of the Sun and Sky; and the king's family aſſume the name of Futtafaihe, from the God ſo called, who is probably their tutelary patron, and perhaps their common anceſtor. The ſovereign's peculiar earthly title is, however, ſimply *Tooce Tonga*.

There is a decorum obſerved in the preſence of their principal men, and particularly of their king, that is truly admirable. Whenever he ſits down, whether it be in an houſe, or without, all the attendants ſeat themſelves, at the ſame time, in a ſemicircle before him; leaving always a convenient ſpace between him and them, into which no one attempts to come, unleſs he has ſome particular buſineſs. Neither is any one allowed to paſs, or ſit, behind him, nor even near him, without his order or permiſſion; ſo that our having been indulged with this privilege, was a ſignificant proof of the great reſpect that was paid us. When any one wants to ſpeak with the king, he advances and ſits down before him; delivers what he has to ſay in a few words; and, having received his anſwer, retires again to the circle. But if the king ſpeaks to any one, that perſon anſwers from his ſeat, unleſs he is to receive ſome order; in which caſe he gets up from his place, and ſits down before the Chief with his legs acroſs; which is a poſture to which they are ſo much accuſtomed, that any other mode of ſitting is diſagreeable to them *. To ſpeak to the king ſtanding, would be accounted here as a ſtriking mark of rudeneſs, as it would be, with us, for one to ſit down and put on his hat, when he addreſſes himſelf to his ſuperior, and that ſuperior on his feet, and uncovered.

* This is peculiar to the men; the women always ſitting with both legs thrown a little on one ſide. We owe this remark to Captain King.

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It does not, indeed, appear, that any of the moſt civilized nations, have ever exceeded this people, in the great order obſerved, on all occaſions; in ready compliance with the commands of their Chiefs; and in the harmony that ſubſiſts throughout all ranks, and unites them, as if they were all one man, informed with, and directed by, the ſame principle. Such a behaviour is remarkably obvious, whenever it is requiſite that their Chiefs ſhould harangue any body of them collected together, which is frequently done. The moſt profound ſilence and attention is obſerved during the harangue, even to a much greater degree than is practiſed amongſt us, on the moſt intereſting and ſerious deliberations of our moſt reſpectable aſſemblies. And, whatever might have been the ſubject of the ſpeech delivered, we never ſaw an inſtance, when any individual preſent, ſhewed ſigns of his being diſpleaſed, or that indicated the leaſt inclination to diſpute the declared will of a perſon who had a right to command. Nay, ſuch is the force of theſe verbal laws, as I may call them, that I have ſeen one of their Chiefs expreſs his being aſtoniſhed, at a perſon's having acted contrary to ſuch orders; though it appeared, that the poor man could not poſſibly have been informed, in time, to have obſerved them *.

Though ſome of the more potent Chiefs may vie with the king in point of actual poſſeſſions, they fall very ſhort in rank, and in certain marks of reſpect, which the collective body have agreed to pay the monarch. It is a particular privilege annexed to his ſovereignty, not to be punctured,

* Cantova gives us the ſame account of the profound ſubmiſſion of the Caroline Iſlanders, to the orders of the *Tamole*. "Ils reçoivent ſes ordres avec le plus pro-" fond reſpect. Ses paroles ſont autant d'oracles, qu'on revere."

Lettres Edifiantes & Curieuſes, Tom. xv. p. 312.

nor

nor circumciſed, as all his ſubjects are. Whenever he walks out, every one whom he meets muſt ſit down till he has paſſed. No one is allowed to be over his head; on the contrary, all muſt come under his feet; for there cannot be a greater outward mark of ſubmiſſion, than that which is paid to the ſovereign, and other great people of theſe iſlands, by their inferiors. The method is this; the perſon who is to pay obeiſance, ſquats down before the Chief, and bows the head to the ſole of his foot; which, when he ſits, is ſo placed, that it can be eaſily come at; and, having tapped, or touched it with the under and upper ſide of the fingers of both hands, he riſes up, and retires. It ſhould ſeem, that the king cannot refuſe any one who chooſes to pay him this homage, which is called *moe moea*; for the common people would frequently take it into their heads to do it when he was walking; and he was always obliged to ſtop, and hold up one of his feet behind him, till they had performed the ceremony. This, to a heavy unwieldy man, like Poulaho, muſt be attended with ſome trouble and pain; and I have, ſometimes, ſeen him make a run, though very unable, to get out of the way, or to reach a place where he might conveniently ſit down. The hands, after this application of them to the Chief's feet, are, in ſome caſes, rendered uſeleſs for a time; for, until they be waſhed, they muſt not touch any kind of food. This interdiction, in a country where water is ſo ſcarce, would ſeem to be attended with ſome inconvenience; but they are never at a loſs for a ſuccedaneum; and a piece of any juicy plant, which they can eaſily procure immediately, being rubbed upon them, this ſerves for the purpoſe of purification, as well as waſhing them with water. When the hands are in this ſtate, 1777. July.

1777. July. they call it *taboo rema*. *Taboo*, in general, ſignifies forbidden; and *rema* is their word for hand.

When the *taboo* is incurred, by paying obeiſance to a great perſonage, it is thus eaſily waſhed off. But, in ſome other caſes, it muſt neceſſarily continue for a certain time. We have frequently ſeen women, who have been *taboo rema*, fed by others. At the expiration of the time, the interdicted perſon waſhes herſelf in one of their baths, which are dirty holes, for the moſt part, of brackiſh water. She then waits upon the king, and, after making her obeiſance in the uſual way, lays hold of his foot, and applies it to her breaſt, ſhoulders, and other parts of her body. He then embraces her on each ſhoulder; after which ſhe retires, purified from her uncleanneſs. I do not know, that it is always neceſſary to come to the king for this purpoſe; though Omai aſſured me it was. If this be ſo, it may be one reaſon why he is, for the moſt part, travelling from iſland to iſland. I ſaw this ceremony performed, by him, two or three times; and once by Feenou, to one of his own women; but as Omai was not then with me, I could not aſk the occaſion.

Taboo, as I have before obſerved, is a word of an extenſive ſignification. Human ſacrifices are called *tangata taboo*; and when any thing is forbidden to be eat, or made uſe of, they ſay, that it is *taboo*. They tell us, that, if the king ſhould happen to go into a houſe belonging to a ſubject, that houſe would be *taboo*, and could never more be inhabited by the owner; ſo that, wherever he travels, there are particular houſes for his reception. Old Toobou, at this time, preſided over the *taboo*; that is, if Omai comprehended the matter rightly, he and his deputies inſpected all the produce of the iſland; taking care that every man ſhould cultivate

tivate and plant his quota; and ordering what ſhould be eat, and what not. By this wiſe regulation, they effectually guard againſt a famine; a ſufficient quantity of ground is employed in raiſing proviſions; and every article, thus raiſed, is ſecured from unneceſſary waſte. 1777. July.

By another prudent regulation, in their Government, they have an officer over the police; or ſomething like it. This department, when we were amongſt them, was adminiſtered by Feenou; whoſe buſineſs, we were told, it was, to puniſh all offenders, whether againſt the ſtate, or againſt individuals. He was alſo Generaliſſimo, and commanded the warriors, when called out upon ſervice; but, by all accounts, this is very ſeldom. The king, frequently, took ſome pains to inform us of Feenou's office; and, among other things, told us, that if he himſelf ſhould become a bad man, Feenou would kill him. What I underſtood, by this expreſſion of being a bad man, was, that, if he did not govern according to law, or cuſtom, Feenou would be ordered, by the other great men, or by the people at large, to put him to death. There ſhould ſeem to be no doubt, that a Sovereign, thus liable to be controuled, and puniſhed for an abuſe of power, cannot be called a deſpotic monarch.

When we conſider the number of iſlands that compoſe this little ſtate, and the diſtance at which ſome of them lie from the ſeat of Government, attempts to throw off the yoke, and to acquire independency, it ſhould ſeem, might be apprehended. But they tell us, that this never happens. One reaſon why they are not thus diſturbed, by domeſtic quarrels, may be this: That all the powerful Chiefs, as we have already mentioned, reſide at Tongataboo. They alſo ſecure the dependence of the other iſlands, by the celerity of their operations; for if, at any time, a troubleſome and

1777. July. popular man ſhould ſtart up, in any of them, Feenou, or whoever holds his office, is immediately diſpatched thither to kill him. By this means, they cruſh a rebellion in its very infancy.

The orders, or claſſes, amongſt their Chiefs, or thoſe who call themſelves ſuch, ſeemed to be almoſt as numerous as amongſt us; but there are few, in compariſon, that are lords of large diſtricts of territory; the reſt holding their lands under thoſe principal barons, as they may be called. I was, indeed, told, that when a man of property dies, every thing he leaves behind him falls to the king; but that it is uſual to give it to the eldeſt ſon of the deceaſed, with an obligation to make a proviſion, out of it, for the reſt of the children. It is not the cuſtom here, as at Otaheite, for the ſon, the moment he is born, to take from the father the homage and title; but he ſucceeds to them, at his deceaſe; ſo that their form of government is not only monarchical, but hereditary.

The order of ſucceſſion to the crown, has not been of late interrupted; for we know, from a particular circumſtance, that the Futtafaihes (Poulaho being only an addition, to diſtinguiſh the king from the reſt of his family) have reigned, in a direct line, for, at leaſt, one hundred and thirty-five years. Upon inquiring, whether any account had been preſerved amongſt them, of the arrival of Taſman's ſhips, we found, that this hiſtory had been handed down to them, from their anceſtors, with an accuracy which marks, that oral tradition may ſometimes be depended upon. For they deſcribed the two ſhips, as reſembling ours; mentioning the place where they had anchored; their having ſtaid but a few days; and their moving from that ſtation to Annamooka. And, by way of informing us how long ago this had

had happened, they told us the name of the Futtafaihe who was then king, and of thoſe who had ſucceeded, down to Poulaho, who is the fifth ſince that period; the firſt being an old man, at the time of the arrival of the ſhips. 1777. July.

From what has been ſaid of the preſent king, it would be natural to ſuppoſe, that he had the higheſt rank of any perſon in the iſlands. But, to our great ſurprize, we found it is not ſo; for Latooliboloo, the perſon who was pointed out to me as king, when I firſt viſited Tongataboo, and three women, are, in ſome reſpects, ſuperior to Poulaho himſelf. On our inquiring, who theſe extraordinary perſonages were, whom they diſtinguiſh by the name and title of *Tammaha**? we were told, that the late king, Poulaho's father, had a ſiſter of equal rank, and elder than himſelf; that ſhe, by a man who came from the iſland of Feejee, had a ſon and two daughters; and that theſe three perſons, as well as their mother, rank above Futtafaihe the king. We endeavoured, in vain, to trace the reaſon of this ſingular preeminence of the *Tammahas*; for we could learn nothing beſides this account of their pedigree. The mother, and one of the daughters, called Tooeela-kaipa, live at Vavaoo. Latooliboloo, the ſon, and the other daughter, whoſe name is Moungoula-kaipa, reſide at Tongataboo. The latter, is the woman who is mentioned to have dined with me on the 21ſt of June. This gave occaſion to our diſcovering her ſuperiority over the king, who would not eat in her preſence, though ſhe made no ſcruple to do ſo before him, and received from him the cuſtomary obeiſance, by touching her foot. We never had an opportunity of ſeeing him pay this

*. The reader need not be reminded that *Tamoha*, which ſignifies a Chief, in the dialect of Hamao, and *Tammaha*, become the ſame word, by the change of a ſingle letter, the articulation of which is not very ſtrongly marked.

1777. July. mark of reſpect to Latooliboolo; but we have obſerved him leave off eating, and have his victuals put aſide, when the latter came into the ſame houſe. Latooliboolo aſſumed the privilege of taking any thing from the people, even if it belonged to the king; and yet, in the ceremony called *Natche*, he aſſiſted only in the ſame manner as the other principal men. He was looked upon, by his countrymen, as a madman; and many of his actions ſeemed to confirm this judgment. At Eooa, they ſhewed me a good deal of land, ſaid to belong to him; and I ſaw there a ſon of his, a child, whom they diſtinguiſhed by the ſame title as his father. The ſon of the greateſt Prince in Europe could not be more humoured and careſſed than this little *Tammaha* was.

The language of the Friendly Iſlands, has the greateſt affinity imaginable to that of New Zealand, of Wateeoo, and Mangeea; and, conſequently, to that of Otaheite, and the Society Iſlands. There are alſo many of their words the ſame with thoſe uſed by the natives of Cocos Iſland, as appears from the vocabulary collected there by Le Maire and Schouten*. The mode of pronunciation differs, indeed, conſiderably, in many inſtances, from that both of New Zealand, and Otaheite; but, ſtill, a great number of words

* See this vocabulary, at the end of Vol. ii. of Dalrymple's Collection of Voyages. And yet, though Taſman's people uſed the words of this vocabulary, in ſpeaking to the natives of Tongataboo (his Amſterdam), we are told, in the accounts of his voyage, that they did not underſtand one another. A circumſtance worth obſerving, as it ſhews how cautious we ſhould be, upon the ſcanty evidence afforded by ſuch tranſient viſits as Taſman's, and, indeed, as thoſe of moſt of the ſubſequent navigators of the Pacific Ocean, to found any argument about the affinity, or want of affinity, of the languages of the different iſlands. No one, now, will venture to ſay, that a Cocos man, and one of Tongataboo, could not underſtand each other. Some of the words of Horn Iſland, another of Schouten's diſcoveries, alſo belong to the dialect of Tongataboo. See *Dalrymple*, as above.

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are either exactly the ſame, or ſo little changed, that their common original may be ſatisfactorily traced. The language, as ſpoken at the Friendly Iſlands, is ſufficiently copious, for all the ideas of the people; and we had many proofs of its being eaſily adapted to all muſical purpoſes, both in ſong and in recitative; beſides being harmonious enough in common converſation. Its component parts, as far as our ſcanty acquaintance with it enabled us to judge, are not numerous; and, in ſome of its rules, it agrees with other known languages. As, for inſtance, we could eaſily diſcern the ſeveral degrees of compariſon, as uſed in the Latin; but none of the inflections of nouns and verbs. 1777. July.

We were able to collect ſeveral hundreds of the words; and, amongſt theſe, are terms that expreſs numbers as far as a hundred thouſand; beyond which they never would reckon. It is probable, indeed, that they are not able to go farther; for, after having got thus far, we obſerved, that they commonly uſed a word which expreſſes an indefinite number. A ſhort ſpecimen, ſelected from the larger vocabulary, is here inſerted, with the correſponding words, of the ſame ſignification, as uſed at Otaheite, on the oppoſite column; which, while it will give, as we may ſay, ocular demonſtration of their being dialects of the ſame language, will, at the ſame time, point out the particular letters, by the inſertion, omiſſion, or alteration of which, the variations of the two dialects, from each other, have been effected.

It muſt be obſerved, however, that our vocabularies, of this ſort, muſt neceſſarily be liable to great miſtakes. The ideas of thoſe, from whom we were to learn the words, were

1777. July. were ſo different from ours, that it was difficult to fix them to the object of inquiry. Or, if this could be obtained, to learn an unknown tongue, from an inſtructor who did not know a ſingle word of any language that his ſcholar was converſant with, could not promiſe to produce much. But even, when theſe difficulties were ſurmounted, there ſtill remained a fruitful ſource of miſtake. I mean, inaccuracy in catching, exactly, the true ſound of a word, to which our ears had never been accuſtomed, from perſons whoſe mode of pronunciation was, in general, ſo indiſtinct, that it ſeldom happened that any two of us, in writing down the ſame word, from the ſame mouth, made uſe of the ſame vowels, in repreſenting it. Nay, we even, very commonly, differed about conſonants, the ſounds of which are leaſt liable to ambiguity. Beſides all this, we found, by experience, that we had been led into ſtrange corruptions of ſome of the moſt common words, either from the natives endeavouring to imitate us, or from our having miſunderſtood them. Thus, *cheeto* was univerſally uſed by us, to expreſs a thief, though totally different from the real word, in the language of Tongataboo. The miſtake aroſe from a prior one, into which we had run, when at New Zealand. For though the word that ſignifies thief there, be abſolutely the ſame that belongs to the dialect of the Friendly Iſlands (being *kaeehaa* at both places), yet, by ſome blunder, we had uſed the word *teete*, firſt at New Zealand, and, afterward, at Tongataboo, on our arrival there. The natives, endeavouring to imitate us, as nearly as they could, and ſo fabricating the word *cheeto*, this, by a complication of miſtakes, was adopted by us as their own. All poſſible care has been taken to make the following table as correct as poſſible:

Engliſh.

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Engliſh.	*Friendly Iſlands.*	*Otaheite.*
The ſun,	Elaa,	Eraa.
Fire,	Eafoi,	Eahoi.
Thunder,	Fatoore,	Pateere.
Rain,	Ooha,	Eooa.
The wind,	Matangee,	Mataee.
Warm,	Mafanna,	Mahanna.
The clouds,	Ao,	Eao.
Land,	Fonooa,	Fenooa.
Water,	Avy,	Evy.
Sleep,	Mohe,	Moe.
A man,	Tangata,	Taata.
A woman,	Vefaine,	Waheine.
A young girl,	Taheine,	Toonea.
A ſervant, or *perſon of mean rank,*	Tooa,	Toutou, *or* teou.
The dawn, or *day-break,*	Aho,	Aou.
The hair,	Fooroo,	Eroroo.
The tongue,	Elelo,	Erero.
The ear,	Tareenga,	Tareea.
The beard,	Koomoo,	Ooma.
The ſea,	Tahee,	Taee.
A boat, or *canoe,*	Wakka,	Evaa.
Black,	Oole,	Ere.
Red,	Goola,	Oora, oora.
A lance, or *ſpear,*	Tao,	Tao.
A parent,	Motooa,	Madooa.
What is that?	Kohaeea?	Yahaeea?
To hold faſt,	Amou,	Mou.
To wipe, or *clean any thing,*	Horo,	Horoee.

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Engliſh.	*Friendly Iſlands.*	*Otaheite.*
To riſe up,	Etoo,	Atoo.
To cry, or *ſhed tears,*	Tangee,	Taee.
To eat, or *chew,*	Eky,	Ey.
Yes,	Ai,	Ai.
No,	Kaee,	Aee.
You,	Koe,	Oe.
I,	Ou,	Wou.
Ten,	Ongofooroo,	Ahooroo.

Having now concluded my remarks on theſe iſlands and people, I ſhall take my final leave of them, after giving ſome account of the aſtronomical and nautical obſervations that were made during our ſtay.

And, firſt, I muſt take notice, that the difference of longitude, between Annamooka and Tongataboo, is ſomewhat leſs than was marked in the chart and narrative of my laſt voyage. This error might eaſily ariſe, as the longitude of each was then found without any connection with the other. But, now, the diſtance between them is determined to a degree of preciſion, that excludes all poſſibility of miſtake; which the following table will illuſtrate:

The latitude of the obſervatory at Tongataboo, by the mean of ſeveral obſervations, - - -	21° 8′ 19″ South.
The longitude, by the mean of one hundred and thirty-one ſets of lunar obſervations, amounting to above a thouſand obſerved diſtances, between the moon, ſun, and ſtars, - - - - -	184 55 18 Eaſt.

The

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The difference of longitude, made by the time-keeper, between the above obſervatory, and that at Annamooka, - - -	0°	16′	0″
Hence, the longitude of Annamoka is - - - - -	185	11	18 Eaſt.
By the time-keeper it is, { Greenwich rate, -	186	12	27
{ New Zealand rate,	184	37	0
Its latitude - - -	20	15	0

N. B. The obſervatory at Tongataboo was near the middle of the North ſide of the iſland; and that at Annamooka, on its Weſt ſide; but the chart will elucidate this.

The time-keeper was too ſlow for mean time at Greenwich, on the firſt of July at noon, by $12^h\ 34^m\ 33^s,2$; and her daily rate, at that time, was loſing, on mean time, $1^m,783$ *per* day. This rate will now be uſed for finding the longitude by the time-keeper; and 184° 55′ 18″, or $12^h\ 19^m\ 41^s,2$, will be taken as the true longitude of Tongataboo, Eaſt from Greenwich.

By the mean of ſeveral obſervations, the South end of the needle was found to dip

At { Lefooga, one of the Hapace iſlands,	36°	55′	
{ Tongataboo, - - -	39	1½.	

The variation of the compaſs was found to be

At { Annamooka, on board, - - -	8°	30′	3½″	Eaſt.
{ Anchor off Kotoo, between Annamooka and Hapace, -	8	12	29½	
{ Anchor off Lefooga, - -	10	11	40	
{ Tongataboo, on board, - -	9	44	5½	
{ Ditto, on ſhore, - - -	10	12	58	

1777. July. I can aſſign no reaſon why the variation is ſo much leſs at, and near, Annamooka, than at either of the other two places. I can only ſay, that there is no fault in the obſervations; and that the variation ought to be more at Annamooka than the above, as it has been found to be ſo to the Northward, Southward, Eaſtward, and Weſtward of it. But diſagreements in the variation, greater than this, even in the ſame needle, have been often obſerved. And I ſhould not have taken notice of this inſtance, but from a belief that the cauſe, whatever it is, exiſts in the place, and not in the needles; for Mr. Bayly found the ſame, or rather more difference.

The tides are more conſiderable at theſe iſlands, than at any other of my diſcoveries in this ocean, that lie within the tropics. At Annamooka it is high water, on the full and change days, nearly at ſix o'clock; and the tide riſes and falls there, upon a perpendicular, about ſix feet. In the harbour of Tongataboo, it is high water, on the full and change days, at fifty minutes paſt ſix. The tide riſes and falls, on thoſe days, four feet nine inches; and three feet ſix inches at the Quadratures. In the channels between the iſlands, which lie in this harbour, it flows near tide and half tide; that is, the flood continues to run up near three hours, after it is high water by the ſhore; and the ebb continues to run down, after it is flood by the ſhore. It is only in theſe channels, and in a few other places near the ſhores, that the motion of the water or tide is perceivable; ſo that I can only gueſs at the quarter from which the flood comes. In the road of Annamooka, it ſets Weſt South Weſt, and the ebb the contrary; but it falls into the harbour of Tongataboo from the North Weſt,

paſſes through the two narrow channels, on each ſide of Hoolaiva, where it runs with conſiderable rapidity, and then ſpends itſelf in the *lagoon*. The ebb returns the ſame way, and runs with rather greater force. The North Weſt tide is met, at the entrance of the *lagoon*, by one from the Eaſt; but this, as I have before obſerved, was found to be very inconſiderable. 1777. July.

END OF THE FIRST VOLUME.